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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1393

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'NEPSZABADSAG', RFE, RADIO LIBERTY IRRECONCILABLE WITH HELSINKI

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 May 77 p 3 AU

[Article by Peter Sereny: "Instead of a Dialog, Psychological Warfare?"]

[Text] The United States is turning up the volume, also in the literal sense of the term this time. President Carter has asked Congress for 45 million to double the strength of the transmitters of the Voice of America, as well as those of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, which are also directed from Washington but operate from Munich, from 3,900 to 6,650 kilowatts. The idea is not new, but, since 1973, the present government is the first to present it to Congress. The President's proposal has met with a mixed reaction in the United States itself as well, since, to cite the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT: "Detente has tended to make many people in Congress regard these radios as a remnant of the cold war." Others cited William Fulbright, who, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the time, said: "Irrespective of the nameplate, even if they report 'mere facts,' the Munich radio stations engender a whole array of foreign political problems, by no means the least being they raise the issue of the extent of our intervention in the political affairs of other countries."

On Whose Behalf?

To be sure, following revelations in the United States at the beginning of the seventies, it is common knowledge today that the Munich radio stations, which today are broadcasting to East European "target countries" and the Soviet Union in 22 languages, were established by the CIA in the fifties and financed from secret funds of U.S. intelligence until 1971. Their professed aim in the Dulles era was to overthrow the countries that have embarked on the path of socialism. Those who experienced it well remember what an incendiary role Radio Free Europe played in the events of the 1956 Hungarian counterrevolution. In the meantime--particularly since, following the embarrassing revelations, the United States assigned political and financial control over the Munich radio stations to an agency established by Congress in 1973, the Board for International Broadcasting--their tone has changed and their methods have become more sophisticated, but, essentially, Radio Free Europe is engaged in "loosening up" the social order of the socialist countries.

The NEW YORK TIMES, which itself writes that "The Munich stations employ many emigrants and gather information and analyses from the target countries," asks: "Since Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe have abandoned the myth of private supporters, Americans may rightly ask what need there is for the United States openly to support a dual radio system? The Voice of America expounds and explains government policy. This radio is strictly supervised by the State Department. However, the requirement for the Munich stations is 'not to be at variance' with U.S. policy, and they are directed by a state agency... There was a time," the paper adds, "when it might have been convenient that we did not have to dissociate ourselves from the tones of the Munich stations, which were considered 'unofficial'. However, the fig leaf has now fallen, as we are responsible for what is said on our behalf and with our money."

"It Would Not Be Tolerated in America"

In his message accompanying the request for \$45 million, President Carter explained that the mission of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe is "to promote a constructive dialog with the peoples of the Soviet Union and East Europe." However, this explanation is completely incomprehensible, to say the least. These radio stations could not be the means for a constructive dialog, if only for the reason that their staffers do not use pseudonyms out of journalistic modesty, but their real names, which in the overwhelming majority of cases still revive unpleasant memories in the countries they have deserted. A great deal can be done with war criminals, questionable characters and turn-coats, but one thing cannot: to arrange a constructive dialog between the people of the United States and the people of the Soviet Union and East Europe. As it happened, a West European, the French Philippe Gaillard, commenting on Carter's decision, wrote that Radio Free Europe "is a propaganda instrument that does not respect its own public and would never be tolerated by the Americans in their own country."

The U.S. President is about to amplify some strange, some very strange voices--voices whose owners would fail even by the moral criterion he himself has established. When we really consider it, what choice was there, precisely in post-war West Germany, for recruiting staffers speaking the languages of the East European countries? Let us not cite the personal particulars of the Munich radio stations' staffers. They are just as well known to competent people in the United States as they are to readers of eyewitness reports on Radio Free Europe's internal conditions. Let us rather cite here a personal experience shared by many people. When a well-known young actor suddenly began to speak in a Radio Free Europe tone in the anniversary play, "I Am 30 Years Old," at the Budapest Gaiety Theater, the audiences burst out in laughter. This was not "recognition," but a realization--the realization, in the middle of a scene reviving a tragic phase of Hungarian history, how un-Hungarian that particular tone is, and not only on account of its unfamiliar lilt.

To Be a Target Country?

A dialog, with anybody, can only be conducted decently and in a frank manner. The Munich radio stations are unsuitable for this if only for the reason that,

to this day, they have been cover organizations for actual information gathering, a specific kind of a tendentious "eastern research." It is not an accidental blunder when U.S. papers refer to us as "target countries." This does not apply only to program targeting by any means, despite the official repainting of the nameplate. Intelligence officers are still in key positions at the Munich stations, quite understandably, incidentally, since it is obvious that such an organization cannot be maintained and effectively directed otherwise. It is not only this that is involved, however. It is a characteristic feature of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe that every year, often through prominent sociological institutes, they conduct public opinion polls among the millions of travelers who visit or go on business trips to the West from the Soviet Union and East Europe. The agents who ask questions also put out feelers on topics that are by no means of "radio" concern, such as the situation regarding security at borders, or the standard of living of army officers for instance. To avoid misunderstandings, the Hungarian People's Republic, just like the rest of the socialist countries, have nothing to "fear" from Radio Free Europe. Presumably Janos Kadar's speech at the National Conference of Socialist Brigade Leaders was also read in Munich, including the statement addressed not only to our friends, but to our enemies as well: "The domestic political position of the Hungarian People's Republic is firm. The people who live and work in the country are concentrating their efforts on building an advanced socialist society. Elderly people will remember that barely more than two decades ago the Hungarian People's Republic was in a difficult position. Our enemies and those who in general are no friends of socialism and communism 'commemorated' the 1956 counterrevolution last autumn and searched for the 'former' times. However, the only conclusion they could draw was that there is no soil for any other policy than the present one in Hungary."

Washington's and Bonn's Responsibility

However, America's dissonant tones in Munich are attempting something, using various methods and any means that no country tolerates without protest--intervention in domestic affairs. And this is all the more intolerable since the United States, which maintains Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, and the FRG, on whose territory the center of these radios operates, that is, the two countries which assume responsibility for these two Munich radio stations in an international legal sense, have signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference with the pens of their President and chancellor respectively. And the document stipulates that the participating countries "respect each other's right freely to choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems and their right to determine their laws and their state administrative regulations themselves." On the principle of nonintervention, the act also stipulates that its signatories "accordingly, refrain from directly or indirectly supporting terrorist activities or subversive or other activities aimed at overthrowing by force the system of another participating country."

Some people may regard all this as reconcilable with the activities of the Munich radio stations, but we are of the opinion that the two are irreconcilable. No matter what sophisticated methods it uses, psychological warfare does not amount to a "promotion of a constructive dialog," as it was called by President Carter. And as a matter of course, its objectives and methods preclude its serving what it is professed to, information fostering mutual trust and understanding. That is why the fact that the United States, instead of closing down the Munich radio stations, is about to increase their strength precisely now, prior to Belgrade is giving rise to particular antipathy.

CSO: 2500

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN OFFICIALS SPEAK AT GDR OCTOBER REVOLUTION CONFERENCE

[Editorial Report AU] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German of 6 May 1977 carries a 2,500-word ADN report on a scientific conference, held at the Higher Party School of the SED Central Committee in Berlin on 5 and 6 May, devoted to the theory and practice of Lenin's teaching of the socialist revolution, and the experiences of socialist and communist construction on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. According to the report, Prof Dr Manfred Herold, deputy director of the school, welcomed some 170 participants from institutions of the central committees of fraternal parties from the USSR, Bulgaria, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, Romania, CSSR, Hungary, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, as well as representative from GDR academies, universities, scientific councils, propaganda, and mass organizations.

Party school director Prof Hanna Wolf outlined in her report the tremendous significance of the October Revolution noting, inter alia, that no important world political problem can now be solved without the Soviet Union, and that unemployment was eliminated there as early as 50 years ago, contrasting it with the current situation in the capitalist countries. Referring to the revolutionary struggles of the international workers class, she is reported as stating: "Particularly valid is the principle that the power of the workers class is the fundamental condition for the socialist transformation of the society" and that "the history of the worker-peasant power in the GDR as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat refutes the '-arguments' of the bourgeois politicians of the allegedly undemocratic, antidemocratic character of the socialist state power." Professor Wolf concluded the report dwelling on questions of peaceful coexistence and tracing them in a direct line from Lenin's peace appeal to the peace program of the two last CPSU congresses.

The debate was opened by Prof P. A. Rodionov, deputy director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee, who spoke on the role of Lenin's party as organizer of the construction of socialism and communism, and stated in this connection "the comprehensive uncovering of Lenin's concept of the Red October and the unmasking of bourgeois and revisionist falsifications is an important task even today." Describing the difficulties of the path to socialism, he is quoted as mentioning among them the fact that "the party had to defend Lenin's plan for socialist construction in a sharp struggle against

Trotskyites, rightist opportunists, chauvinists, and nationalists." Condemning various falsifications of the CPSU's history, Rodionov stressed in conclusion the growing role of the party.

The foreign speakers briefly mentioned in the paper's report include Nguyen Duc Binh from Vietnam, who praised Ho Chi-minh for establishing the link between the October and the Vietnamese revolution, Prof Dr Ryszard Gradowski from Poland, who stressed the Polish-Soviet alliance, and Prof Dr Bela Veszi from Hungary, who pointed to the principled importance of the power of the workers class in resolving socialist construction tasks.

The concluding day of the conference is covered by a 1,400-word report in East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German of 7-8 May 1977 on page 6. It reports the discussion of 6 May was opened by Prof Dr K. I. Suvorov from the Soviet Union who stressed the leading role of the workers class. Renate Leuschner from the GDR, who dwelled on special qualities inherent in Lenin and the Russian workers class, was followed by contributions from Prof Boris Boyev from Bulgaria and Prof Bajtasagijn Churmetbek from Mongolia, who both stressed the international importance of the October Revolution. The paper then reports that Dr Stefan Lache from the 'Stefan Gheorghiu' Academy of Sociopolitical Science of the RCP Central Committee stressed: "The Romanian people are advancing side by side with the other peoples in our epoch's main direction of development, which was initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution." "The party's experiences in revolutionary struggle constituted a contribution to the theoretical and practical treasury of experiences of the international communist and workers movement."

The subsequent foreign speakers mentioned include Prof F. G. Partolin from the Soviet Union commenting on Lenin's April theses, Prof Vaclav Kves from the CSSR quoted as stressing that "the alliance with the Soviet Union proved itself as the prerequisite for the stability of the Czechoslovak state," Juan Esteban Lazo Hernandez from the group of Cuban students at the party school, who described cultural achievements in socialist Cuba, and Antonio Mateus Breganha, head of the Angolan group at the party school, who praised the selfless aid of the socialist states and particularly the USSR.

The report quotes in conclusion from the summing-up speech of Prof Hanna Wolf: "The conference was marked by proletarian internationalism, and showed that we have a concurring view on the role of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union which is a decisive question of our time."

CSO: 2300

BULGARIA

ACADEMICIANS DISCUSS CRITICALLY TRAINING OF SCIENTIFIC CADRES

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 2, Feb 77 pp 70-89

[Part Two of round table discussion: "On High Quality and Effectiveness of Scientific Activities and Education;" part one was published in JPRS report No 68866 Pol of 1 Apr 77]

[Text] Academician Khristo Khristov: Philosophy and Natural Sciences

I would like to discuss an interesting problem: the link between philosophy and the natural sciences. In my view, this problem should be discussed in NOVO VREME.

In science, in the natural sciences in particular, we come accross problems of a different nature which should be classified differently. There are applied problems in which given laws are to be used in some production facilities. Here philosophy could help but I do not consider that its contribution could be substantial. There also exist experimental studies which call for establishing the relations existing among certain parameters of a given system. A general theoretical interpretation of the experiment is necessary but, here again, philosophy plays a limited role. There also exist theoretical studies of a different nature. In some cases it is a question of developing an idea further. For example, a theory may reach the level of equations to be solved. Here again, I do not know whether philosophy could be of great help.

Yet, physics, mathematics, chemistry, and biology involve theoretical studies pertaining to the very formulation of the problems. Here we must bear in mind that problems on which such sciences are focussed today are frequently far beyond our immediate concern. We deal with nuclei and elementary particles which no one can see even through a microscope. We study various stellar associations and megagalaxies which are equally inaccessible. For example, biology is studying the laws of heredity, on the molecular level at that, also hidden to our eyes. In all such cases we obtain only indirect information on the basis of which we must determine what is essentially happening. Experiments may be made, but the very mechanism we are trying to unravel remains hidden. The present problem formulation stage

is characterized, first of all, by its great abstraction. Of late, mathematics as well has been dealing with ever more abstract problems. This may seem contradictory, but along with their abstractness contemporary problems are characterized by their concreteness as well. This is because it is no longer a question of speculative qualitative explanations as was the case in the past. Today experimental results must be explained specifically and accurately. Today it no longer suffices to say that when two elementary particles meet other particles are obtained. It is necessary to determine and explain theoretically what are the specific particles obtained, what is their percentage, at what angles, and with what energy distribution. All this must be explained specifically, qualitatively and quantitatively. Both specific and general explanations are sought pertaining to many similar processes. Many particles and types of interaction exist. The task is not to find the law governing each separate particle or interaction. The general laws must be found. The common aspect is sought in astrophysics, mathematics and biology. Therefore, we are simultaneously looking for the general and the specific. Naturally, all this has its applied value. The nature of phenomena may be remote but the results they lead to are not. They are very real and even practical.

The phenomena on which the scientists are focussing their attention have yet another characteristic. It appears that the laws governing processes in very remote fields of knowledge or distant in time and nature, and the laws governing phenomena in the world around us, which we can see directly, and understand best are qualitatively different. It is precisely in such complex formulations, distant in terms of direct observations, that the logical structure of theory is of great importance. The people engaged in such problems must be clearly aware of an experiment, theory, hypothesis, definition, or philosophical postulate. We must clarify the role of philosophical categories, basic concepts, and defined concepts of objects, relations, and operations.

It is precisely here, in the clarification of the logical structure of a modern theory, that philosophy could be very useful. Theories may be physical, astronomical, biological, or other. They may deal with one or another concept or law. It is clear, however, that they must share a common structural system. I believe that philosophy which deals precisely with the most basic logical categories and postulates could be of great help here. It could help elsewhere as well but, in my view, this precisely is the natural, or one of the natural places of philosophy at the present stage of development of the natural sciences. I would like to elaborate on this thought and hope to be given the opportunity to describe this in NOVO VREME.

Academician Ivan T. Todorov: Place and Significance of Basic Research in the Development of Science and Education

I am guided in the choice of problems I would like to discuss above all by the desire not to exceed the limits of my competence. That is why my statement may deviate somewhat from the trend of our discussion.

I shall discuss two questions;

1. Is basic research necessary per se (outside its acknowledged function of serving applied developments)?
2. Assuming that the existence of basic science in our country is indeed desirable, what is hindering or helping its successful development?

The question is not rhetorical. Even the preliminary formulations in the program for our discussion mention basic science as a first step toward applied research and development.

Charges of the uselessness of scientific branches distant from practical use do not date from yesterday or today. An ancient joke speaks of "mathematics serving not the public good but deep thinking." Such charges are easily explainable. First, scientific discoveries have almost never been used directly, and the path to their practical application has been long and rough. End practical results are achieved, as a rule, by people not engaged in basic research and even not always aware of their significance. Second, very specialized theoretical science results are incomprehensible to the majority and, unfortunately, people tend to reject or mock what they do not know rather than try to understand it (or admit to ignorance). The fact that the scientists themselves frequently underestimate the potential practical applicability of their discoveries and, in any case, are rarely guided by it in their work also contributes to the dissemination of the prejudice against "pure science" among engineers and practical workers.

Even in ancient Greece, the cradle of modern scientific thought, the intellectual elite scorned the practical applications of philosophy (which, at that time, covered all science). This did not prevent (and may have even helped) the ancient Greeks to create mathematics and formal logic which are the foundations of any precise science (and of all applications, including fashionable cybernetics). One of the greatest achievements of theoretical physics in the 19th Century was the discovery of the common nature of electricity, magnetism and light. Yet, not one of the scientists whose inspired work brought about this discovery suspected that it would become the basis of a new technical revolution and, in the course of a few decades, would enter the people's homes as electric light, radio, and television. In our 20th Century as well Rutherford, who was the first to undertake the study of nuclear reactions, and to whom we owe the modern concept of the atomic nucleus, publicly stated that nuclear reactions will never have a practical application. (Could we, consequently, accuse him of the fact that the first application of his inroad into "pure" science came as atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki?)

Occasionally, the opponents of basic research voice the following view as well: basic scientific research is not patented and we could take it already completed from the developed countries which, as it is, are doing

this better than us. That it would be sufficient for us to learn how to use and apply it. Without original scientific work in physics and mathematics, for example, we could not teach on the necessary level, particularly in the case of the modern branches of such disciplines. Throughout the world physics and mathematics teachers in schools and higher education institutions are physicists and mathematicians. Even though they themselves may not be active researchers they could be good (and competent) teachers only if their own teachers numbered people enthusiastic about science and who were able to pass on to them some of their enthusiasm. Let us add to this that the purely scientific accomplishments of a given country become a part of its spiritual culture (together with music, for example, which, in its way, is also abstract and distant from the production of material goods). The contribution of a nation to human knowledge (as to art) influences its appearance.

The experience of small advanced countries indicates that theoretical science, which does not require large capital investments, is a particularly suitable direction in their development. Through sensible efforts and the attraction of talented young people they can become real world centers of theory. Suffice it to mention the tradition of Einstein, Minkovsky, Pauli, and (Firts) in Switzerland; of Lorentz, Ehrenfest, and the Leiden school in The Netherlands; and of the Niels Bohr Institute in Denmark to gain some idea on the role of some small European countries in the development of theoretical physics, for example.

A tradition of scientific thinking (including among engineers who deal mainly with applied science) should be cultivated locally. It cannot be imported ready-made. Conversely, a technology for the manufacturing of tin cans, for example, could be borrowed perfectly well from the outside (no need, as the saying goes, to rediscover the bicycle).

Let us assume that we are already convinced of the need for a harmonious development of science and its applications, and consider the question of what to do, what are the necessary prerequisites for our basic science to be able to reach world standards and, directly and through its influence on education, to become a proper foundation for technical progress in Bulgaria. Our resources are not unlimited and the scientists must issue a competent opinion on what is most important at a given period, and where to use funds and efforts. Clearly, some among us have given such advice, for even people outside science have been able to see traces of well-intentioned activities: expensive electronic calculators were imported, computer centers were established throughout the country, and okrug councils and committees are competing for getting the biggest computers (even though computers are in short supply at the Academy of Sciences, in physics in particular); scientific information centers are being established (I do not know, however, whether, among others, this was financed out of the allocations for scientific libraries which were reduced this year (1976 -- the editor)); school and higher education institution curricula are being constantly amended and brought up to date, and every year the students find themselves in a state of transition from one system to another.

Whatever the case, an atmosphere of calm and stability which makes possible long and adamant efforts is a necessary prerequisite for serious scientific work.

I will not undertake to issue specific prescriptions concerning the ratio between people engaged in basic and applied research. (Approximate indications may be obtained on the basis of the respective figures for advanced countries with well developed science -- figures of this kind were cited here). Even without precise statistical figures it is clear that the number of people engaged in applied and technical developments is (as is normal) greater than in basic sciences. This makes particularly imperative the strict choice of people who will engage in the basic sciences. Simply good grades and a certain willingness to work are insufficient (let us not even mention the case of people chosen on the basis of other, unrelated, criteria). The best among the best must be chosen: young people who, as students, and on the basis of their graduation work, have not only proved their profound knowledge, but their creative possibilities and their ability to dedicate themselves to scientific work with a dedication known only to the chosen. Teachers with one or two such students in their course are lucky. That is why the hasty recruitment of scientific cadres for an institute, in the course of which four or five, or even 10-12 specialists in a field are appointed every year inevitably violates the high criteria we are discussing. The appointment of even average (not to speak of poor) associates of scientific collectives not only does not contribute to their growth but drags them down. A mediocre scientific worker takes far more time than is average for a scientific adviser with lesser results. A few such associates lower seminar standards, drag down scientific criteria, and disturb the group's creative microclimate. (Let us not mention the fact that such people become organized and support one-another, quickly find their way to leading administrative positions and, some times, can wreck an entire collective.) The quick choice of cadres for staffing a task group is bad also because it blocks the way to really talented young people in the future, and violates the normal ratio between scientific and teaching work, which presumes the hiring of capable graduates and offering to the best among them the possibility to remain in the group.

The traditional means for obtaining scientific information -- periodicals and books in well equipped libraries -- has neither become obsolete nor lost its importance. The funds needed for the upkeep of our basic scientific libraries -- academic, university, and popular -- are insignificant compared with their usefulness. The short-sighted restrictions imposed recently by (or through?) the Khemus Foreign Trade Enterprise remind of the joke about the general who, advised to give his nephew a book, answered that he already had one. The newly established scientific information centers cannot replace libraries in the least (universal practical experience has proved them to be irreplaceable). On the contrary, with their annoying insistence for bigger allocations such centers are becoming yet another obstacle to the normal development of science.

The normal ratio between scientific and auxiliary personnel has been violated in our scientific institutes. There is a general shortage of laboratory and other technicians, while the situation with typists is desperate. We build and import expensive machines and experimental systems without providing the facilities -- equipped laboratories -- and competent trained people to run them.

To back up this statement I shall give the example of cases in which the situation can still be corrected: plans are being formulated, and discussions are under way on what type of bigger accelerator to make while we still lack and are not even planning the building of a modern laboratory for processing film information. Such a laboratory would not only be useful in terms of the future accelerator but, once installed, would greatly increase the effectiveness of our cooperation with Dubna, Serpukhov, and other big high energy physics centers in the world (which are sending or bringing to us for processing photoemulsions and photographs taken in spark and bubble chambers).

As I already mentioned, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences does not have a computer base adequate for its tasks while numerous computer centers are scattered in Sofia and throughout the country without suitable tasks or cadres sufficiently competent to make full use of the available equipment. It is not normal for the Joint Physics Center to have only the weak ES-10-20 Bulgarian calculating machine while the Academy of Social Sciences (AONSU) has a modern I CL computer for whose use the BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences] institutes must pay 80 leva per hour (The Institute of Nuclear Research and Nuclear Power Industry, for example, does not always have the necessary funds for the use of this computer).

But I was carried away in suggesting such changes. Let me repeat that hardly all changes and reorganizations in the sciences which have been made in our country have been for the better. Particularly dangerous are suggestions which, under the pretext of strengthening a lagging sector, aim at eliminating a properly working system. Such initiative are successful only in their first (negative) aspect.

A. Angelov: The question of basic research is important, and in the fields of electronics and electrical engineering it is absolutely necessary. I shall discuss two aspects.

The first is the following: In the present condition of science basic research related to industry could be mostly directed and programmed. In other words, we could determine the expected results and the time within which they could be reached. The main question here is that of the proper selection of the type of basic problems whose solution could be expected within a period optimal in our conditions. Since in the case of applied research the period is 2-2.5 years, the optimal period for basic research should be five or, at most, six years.

The second aspect is that of the ratio between basic and applied research. Above all, the proper determination of the areas in which they must be carried out is particularly important. It is entirely logical for basic research in industry to follow directions of strategic importance to its development. Each specific case should be approached separately, for a general solution would be difficult. Nevertheless, a four to one ratio in favor of applied research could be considered sensible in our conditions precisely in the directions of basic research.

N. Yakhiel: In connection with the statement by Academician Ivan Todorov I would like to mention the thought expressed by a specialist in scientific policy, namely that basic research needs less protective speeches than a correct policy. I believe that this also reflects our attitude toward basic research. Full support of basic research has been frequently voiced by us, as it is voiced now in the documents of the 11th congress and other important party and state documents in which it is backed by corresponding material and other resources. Naturally, something remains to be desired in this field as well if we are to meet adequately the needs of the socio-economic development of the country and the development of science itself.

Consequently, I believe that the main problem facing us, our country, is to elaborate and implement a correct policy in this area: what are the problems, areas, directions and extent to which basic scientific research is to be developed. Particularly important here is the problem of the future socioeconomic development of the country, of the real possibilities at our disposal in terms of material and human resources and, naturally, the problem of the country's prestige.

Secondly, as we know, the basic development course of our science is that of intergarion with the Soviet scientific front. Bearing in mind the nature of basic research, I believe that closest possible cooperation and integration with the powerful scientific potential of the Soviet Union is of decisive importance in this area. This will enable us to develop most fully the efforts and talent of our basic research scientists.

Academician Khr. Khristov: The heated statement by Comrade Todorov contains a great deal of truth. I am thinking of the concern for the libraries which are not being regularly supplied, the constant changes in curricula, leading to their rejection, the frequent reorganizations without proof of the unsuitability of existing structures, and so on. According to the July Plenum weaknesses must not be consealed but seen clearly so that we may be able to fight them. This is correct. However, we have successes along with the weaknesses. Let us mention the good things which were achieved despite all practical difficulties and financial restrictions. The major fact is that our institutes are growing in terms of numbers, equipment, specialist qualifications and accomplishments. The educational system is developing as well. Today, for example, we have five physics specialties at the university and two other higher education institutions training physicists. What I mean is that in a presentation matters must be balanced if a just assessment is to be made.

A. Polikarov: I accept Comrade Todorov's assessment in its entirety. However, a certain correction must be made concerning the information centers. They are totally unable to replace the libraries which, as practical experience indicates, are irreplaceable. Nor have the information centers assigned themselves such a task. The information centers are indeed developing as centralized units for gathering information of scientific interest. In this respect, however, the lion's share goes to the libraries. Therefore, their place within the information system is no problem. What is essential in this case, however, is the need for gathering reliable information maximally satisfying the needs of science. Their condition must optimally meet the requirements of the scientific-creative process. Unquestionably, this requires special attention and corresponding funds.

In a country such as the United States, for which we have official data, one eighth of the entire science and scientific research budget is allocated for the gathering and classification of scientific information. I believe that this ratio is neither accidental nor without consideration for pragmatic results.

G. Pir'ov: I support the thesis that psychology is one of the basic sciences which must be developed. We have grounds to believe that precisely the study of basic problems in psychology makes possible the solution of theoretical problems of psychology itself and contributes to the solution of, let us say, the problems of the scientific organization of labor, of upgrading the quantity and quality of output, and of education improvements. In general, there is no practical field in which man is not the decisive subjective factor.

With the current reductions, the positions of psychologists are being abolished in some units. For example, the former Ministry of Labor had an Institute of Labor Psychology and Physiology. Almost all psychology positions here were abolished. If possible, we should defend the positions of psychologists in scientific and applied science units and in schools. The fact that in the plans of the Ministry of National Education and the school curricula the status of psychology as a subject is threatened is a blow at a very important accomplishment of our school system. I believe that it would be proper to keep psychology teachers with a certain number teaching hours and offer them the possibility to equip laboratories for psychological studies particularly of problem students, students who deviate from study and behavior norms, or who display general or special gifts.

Academician Iv. Todorov: Here several people have accused me of breaking already open doors, stating that, in fact, the importance of basic science was clear to all. It seems to me that this claim has been refuted even by some of the just completed statements.

The concept of basic science is somewhat elastic. It may include areas which are between strict science and its applications. When you, Comrade Angelov, were stating that basic research should be directed and bring about practical results in no more than five or ten years, obviously you had in mind research in a field such as electronics.

A. Angelov: That is what I had in mind.

Iv. Todorov: Yet, there is another type of basic research you did not mention at all. It is clear, for example, that achievements in mathematics do not yield direct economic results. They could lead to practical use further on, through a series of intermediary steps. A mathematical discovery may be reflected in the development of theoretical physics. In turn, as a rule, theoretical research is equally unguided. Its results, however, could be the basis for directed research in electronics, for example. The application would come only in the fourth stage.

A. Angelov: I did not have these sciences in mind.

Iv. Todorov: They are precisely what I had in mind. I said that these sciences as well must be developed.

I would like to discuss this matter somewhat and clarify my thought. I worked for many years at the Joint Nuclear Research Institute in Dubna and continue to maintain relations with it. I would be the last person to oppose our cooperation with Dubna and its institute. Comrade Yakhiel pointed out that we have neither the possibility nor the need to duplicate everything it does so that it may be strictly ours. But let us be specific. If it is a question that there is no need to build big accelerators in Bulgaria, such as those of Serpukhov or Dubna, I agree entirely. In this respect, countries far bigger and richer than ours are cooperating; there is in Western Europe a big center for such accelerators of high energy heavy particles --the CERN Joint European Center in Geneva. Cooperation in this field exists the world over. It is necessary.

However, the work of the big centers is such that only about 15 percent of the information provided by a given accelerator is processed locally. The remainder is spread among other institutes in the country and abroad. This applies to CERN and the Serpukhov Center, a Soviet institute with which international institutes such as that in Dubna (the Dubna experimental group includes Bulgarian experimentation workers as well), and French and U.S. groups cooperate.

In order to be able to cooperate effectively with such centers we must have a certain domestic base. That is precisely what I had in mind when I spoke of the need for a laboratory to process film information.

Allow me to reemphasize the need for the development in Bulgaria of basic theoretical directions in basic sciences such as mathematics and physics. I repeat, the reason for which I am not mentioning other areas to be developed as well is not to exceed my range of competence. Such development is necessary as a climate, as a basis for education. It will also lead to the training of better engineers and the development of better applied science.

As to the scientific information centers, I do not really think that they have formally set themselves the objective of replacing or restricting the libraries. (I would assume least of all that Comrade Polikarov is the initiator of such actions.) However, since funds are generally limited, and we have the tendency to revere new impressively sounding terms and labels, I think that it would be useful to emphasize that the old libraries remain the basis of scientific information (but must be regularly supplied with periodicals and books) rather than the newly created centers.

Yet, another question on which I must voice an objection, was raised here. I do not believe that institutional forms are needed for the development of interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary research, as was stated. In my view, such methods would also make possible to conceal pseudoscientific works, works dealing neither with physics nor medicine, mathematics, biology, or philosophy, yet claim to be interdisciplinary (these are all factual examples). It seems to me that proper multidisciplinary research must not result in making a trivial contribution which could be assessed within the framework of a single discipline. It must yield something more than a contribution to a single discipline (rather than less). Something that is neither purely physics (so that it cannot be assessed in terms of physics) nor another science (so that it cannot be assessed in its respective terms) is precisely pseudoscience or, stated more clearly, fraud. As a good example in which the lack of institutional forms did not hinder in the least a good interdisciplinary project from being properly assessed in our country I shall cite the works of Blagovest Sendov and Rumen Tsanev who are building a bridge between biology and mathematics. Comrade Tsanev is also conducting a seminar on such problems without the need for the establishment of a special interdisciplinary institute.

A. Polikarov: There is an entire institute.

Iv. Todorov: There is no institute for biomathematics. As to biophysics, it can already be said that it has already become a science with its own traditions. The point is that the hasty institutionalization of still inexistent border areas may not be the most effective means for encouraging their development. The development of such a discipline should not be undertaken on the basis of organizational measures. Interdisciplinary projects are interesting precisely because they are not organizationally prescribed, because they include a certain freedom which makes an unforeseen discovery possible.

Professor Dobrin Spasov: Creativity and "Pseudoscience"

I too think that our concern for greater scientific effectiveness must not be expressed in the encouragement of only the type of studies whose practical results are visible to the most naked eye. Neglect of general theory would narrow the specialist's horizon and hinder his adaptation to the rapidly changing reality. This would lead to the intellectual impoverishment and civic decline of our cadres. That is why I would try to defend the role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as a basic manual for effective practical and

scientific activity. However, after the statement by a specialist-scientist such as Academician Khristo Khristov we, philosophy workers here present, feel largely relieved from the embarrassment of emphasizing the importance of our subject. He proved convincingly that the outlook determines both the general orientation of scientific activities and their entire logic....

The reason, nevertheless, for mentioning this truth is that the contemporary rapid development of science is related to certain conceptual dangers. Naturally, our philosophy must be both modern and scientific. This does not mean in the least, however, that we must look at the entire world through the narrow lens of individual sciences which have captivated us by assuming leading positions in the course of an uneven cultural development. In general, we must surmount the tendency of scribing a universal importance to some achievements, for this frequently leads to superficial analogies which pass for a supermodern or superscientific style of thinking.

For example, a grossly cybernetized approach to social phenomena is hardly better than the old organological direction in psychology. The most basic philosophical problem whose answer is related to the nature of the world could hardly be treated as a special aspect of the special systems and information theories. The logical relations between philosophy and separate scientific knowledge are such as to exclude the properly substantiated structuring of scientific philosophy on the narrow foundations of a separate discipline. The universality of dialectical materialism may be based only on the fact that its principles are substantiated and checked through overall progressive practical and theoretical activities.

It is from this viewpoint that we must assess negatively some phenomena in our training and educational practices. The term "reverence" is essentially alien to the proud human spirit. However, if the young scientific generation is to revere something, it should be not amazing individual scientific and technical accomplishments but substantiated principles, the possibility of their independent and socially useful application, the culture of logic, research zeal and highly ethical thinking.... Yet, listening to some of our educators, we are left with the impression that their main task is the development of new methods for expanding the capacity of man's memory in order to catch up with the incredible growth of scientific information! Naturally, with the use of various "suggestions" this could be achieved to the extent to which, as Comrade Polikarov stated on another occasion, the turtle could catch up with the fast Achilles.... It must be understood, however, that a man-"manual" is almost as helpless in the face of reality as a person with a virgin mind. The mastering of information does not mean its mechanical memorizing but its organization with the help of guiding ideas, putting it in proper research and practical perspective. That is why our high school and university students must never be deprived of a solid scientific-philosophical education and truly political upbringing.

I am convinced that such a standpoint is entirely in the spirit of the party's stipulations on scientific and educational work. Among others, this may also be seen in the importance attached lately to the so-called multiplication

approach in production and science discussed by Comrade Niko Yakhiel. The justified extension of the results in one field to other areas presumes a philosophical taste for the common aspects of individual objects, for similarity in differences, and for unity in variety. Philosophers who have eternally tried to explain the infinite variety of the world by "structuring" in different ways a finite number of prime elements could only welcome the multiplication approach. The difficulty remains, however: when, where and how to "multiply" specific results. This is both a theoretical and practical problem, for no normal person would use, for example, the same type wheel in making a bicycle and an airplane....I mean that dialectical-materialistic concreteness determines the applicability of the multiplication approach as well. Without it, it could turn from a scientific to a pseudoscientific method.

Having discussed the basic and applied sciences, I think that the critical spirit of the July Plenum not only allows but directs us to say something about "pseudoscience."

I shall not attempt to provide a strict definition of pseudoscience. Obviously, it is something which is trying to pass for science without being one. It is a question of conscious or subconscious misuse of the high social prestige of modern knowledge, achieved by borrowing some of its external aspects while totally ignoring its content.

Because of its weakness for the external form it is frequently manifested in a phenomenon which could deservedly be the subject of a pamphlet with a title such as "Therminomania -- Infant Disease of the Sciences." It is a question of something usually subjected to very superficial criticism, mainly under the banner of fighting the "pollution" of our native tongue...

Let me admit immediately that abstract concern for the abstract "purity" of the Bulgarian language is alien to me. Furthermore, I consider quite natural for the individual languages to become closer to each-other in the course of historical development, international exchanges, and preparations for a future world socialist culture. I deem it entirely normal for a people within whose community major discoveries have been made to be its godfather in the eyes of the rest of mankind. A certain historical justification exists even for the fact that we are still dressing even our own ideas in terms of Greek or Latin origin. Why, for example, do we say "multiplication approach" instead of simply saying the multiplication of results? Apparently, certain traditions demand precisely such an emphasis that this is a scientific method rather than some separate phenomenon....

We should be indignant at the mimicry of the pseudoscientists not simply because of the "purity of the Bulgarian language," but because it is a mimicry, because it is a manifestation of pseudoscience, because in terms of its psychological content it is an expression of an unworthy reverence and snobbish adoption of an unassimilated and unappreciated foreign culture and because it preys on real social needs and hinders their satisfaction....However, even

such "strong words" would make no particular sense unless more specifically directed. It is in the spirit of the July Plenum not to criticize in such an abstract manner that those we criticize could agree with us most calmly. Let me cite a few examples: I have in front of me a recently published book on philosophy. In fact, it is pseudophilosophical in many respects. See the use it makes of basic philosophical terms:

The author who does not seem to be suffering from excessive modesty (he speaks most calmly, for instance, about his "lucky ideas, and "precious offspring" of his "restless and searching imagination") considers as an unquestionable scientific merit his introduction of the categories "first order ontology" and "second order ontology."

In connection with the former I would merely note that he also describes it as "a picture of the world," and as "the existence of real objects and phenomena considered by themselves" which, naturally, is something different. At the same time, he creates the impression that nature is "first order ontology," rather than society, thus considerably removing himself from the philosophical meaning of the ontology problem....

More importantly, it would be suitable to mention a "first order" if one could clearly see the second. It is precisely in this connection that the author's writings become almost puzzling. It turns out that "second order ontology" is "actually the antropometric measurement of basic and secondary ontological categories, naturally enriched by categories which express characteristics specific only to human transforming spiritual and material activities." ...I shall ignore the fact that "antropometry" remains the measurement of man in the most direct physical meaning of the term. I shall equally ignore the repetition in the expression "antropometric measurement" italicized by the author himself. The essential fact is that here he has proclaimed as ontology all characterization of all specific human manifestations as he describes elsewhere the specific manifestations themselves. He even yields to the temptation of even introducing the term "third order ontology," by which he means the language.

The reader would justifiably ask why is it necessary to identify as "ontology" all specifically human manifestations, whether of the first, second, or third order? Could it be that for this author this term has a certain strange, so to say "magically scientific" significance? The factual result of such "word fetishism" is the blurring of the outlines of a relatively clear philosophical concept.....

Carried away by that same "antropometric" "ontological" wave, the same author states: "We deem it expedient and necessary to distinguish among three basic linguo-ontological strata in the natural languages, as follows: 1. ontolinguistic; 2. socioontolinguistic; 3. verballinguistic." (Naturally, the author has underscored his own new contributions.) Anyone wishing to justify somehow such a creation of terms would ask himself tersely: What is this man trying to say? The fact that people speak

sometimes about natural objects, social processes, or linguistic phenomena? In such a case, ignoring the other inconveniences of the new terminology, I shall note only that the use of the term "verballinguistic stratum" threatens us with a contradiction, not to mention the nightmarish quality of the sound (like saying neckservix), since the same author has stated elsewhere that in the "natural languages" only on rare occasions do we distinguish between "language" and "metalanguage".....

In this work the airing of many terms takes the place of a serious discussion of serious problems....People go on writing and publishing! It looks as if they are more interested not in their subject but in giving it a kind of superscientific name! They frequently feel that a metaphor is a discovery, and that a scientific definition is an entire concept....

Neither the mentioned nor other forms of pseudoscience would have been such a tangible threat had the condition of our scientific criticism been better. I realize that its unsatisfactory condition is also due to certain so to say serious "historical reasons." The story is familiar: at one point a fierce intra-species war had been fought in the mountains of philosophy. Among the philosophers some were "the eaters" while others were "the eaten." "The eaten" yelled so loudly that they were heard by the leadership which took urgent measures. The rule of "Live and let live" was established somewhat spontaneously. Peace was restored and productivity rose. After a while, however, degenerative characteristics were noted among some philosophy breeds, such as the professorial-doctoral...Seriously, the absence of principled scientific discussions is already contributing less to the practical rapprochement than to the division and pettiness among our philosophy workers....

Naturally, I am not in favor of returning to some of the old forms of "criticism" which projected groundless ideological, political, and administrative threats, and which were also used as a means for settling personal scores. Yet, it seems to me that the need and conditions for developing in our country fearless criticism -- strictly scientific and sincerely party-minded -- are quite ripe. Naturally, such criticism neither is nor could be self-seeking. It could become a most effective tool for the elaboration and application of criteria for accurate social evaluation of scientific work, so that our science may be stimulated to the advantage of our entire socialist progress.

N. Yakhiel: Professor Spasov has discussed two exceptionally important matters directly related to upgrading the effectiveness of scientific work. Since he failed to mention the precise reason for which pseudoscience in our country has its carriers and fans, allow me to add a couple of words.

D. Spasov: Even more importantly, conditions exist which occasionally enable it to blossom.

N. Yakhiel: It seems to me that here two factors are significant. First, objectively there exist important ripe problems awaiting a scientific answer, as well as intensive scientific research. Second, along with the enhancement of the cultural standard of our people, the development of the scientific front, and the intensification of the social functions of science and of its

role in society, we are faced with a great thirst for scientific knowledge, and scientific information by a great variety of population strata. This is fertile ground for both creative scientific work and for the "exploits" of pseudoscientists who tag after science. Since scientific criticism is not on the necessary level and, in many cases, is simply unavailable, even those who speculate with science can live undisturbed and thrive in the pseudosciences.

This is comparable to the conditions under which the so-called "gray stream" thrives in literature. On the one hand, social progress and the revolutionary changes offer rich data for artistic reinterpretation and recreation, for intensive artistic creativity. On the other, there is a growing hunger for new artistic values among the broadest town and country strata.

As to scientific criticism, I believe that we should not tolerate any longer the "Live and let live" principle which has sunk such deep roots in this field. All of us need conscientious and constructive criticism.

Rashko Rashkov: Scientific Services to Production

The link between science and production is not always direct and immediate. As materialized scientific knowledge technology does not exhaust all the possibilities and realms of its application. That is why the nature, forms and directions of scientific services to the production process should not be reduced merely to the direct practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements. For example, cadre education and post-graduate training, particularly when purposefully organized in accordance with the specific requirements of production reconstruction and modernization, the utilization of foreign experience, and so on, frequently determine the effectiveness coefficient of the other forms of scientific services of the modern production process.

Scientific discoveries and technical innovations enter production through application. The number of applied scientific and technical achievements rose in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, particularly after 1973. Compared with the overall number of problems handled, their share rose from 19.3 percent in 1971 to 33.4 percent in 1974, and to 36.8 percent in 1975. The increased influence of scientific services to material production sectors is illustrated by the increased number of new technologies applied and goods made. A nearly 400 percent growth was noted between 1971 and 1975. The economic effectiveness of invested scientific services in material production sectors (returns) nearly quadrupled. Even though positive, such results should not be interpreted one-sidedly. The increased number of applied projects could be accompanied by a reduction of the necessary amount of scientific backing needed for subsequent periods. Greater effectiveness could be achieved at the expense of a slower rise of expenditures for scientific research and its cadres, through local effectiveness rather than a multilateral multiplication effect, and so on. This requires a deeper study of results at the various levels of management of scientific research and development with a view to making scientific services to production consistent with the main tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The basic requirements concerning scientific services to production are dictated by the requirements of our socioeconomic development. The tasks set at the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum pertain profoundly to the approach to the implementation of the direction of scientific services to production earmarked in the 11th congress decisions and, more specifically, the Theses on the Basic Directions of Development of Science and Technical Progress in the Seventh Five-Year Plan and Through 1990. They emphasize the need to pay particular attention to scientific and technical services to production and other activities leading to the use of new and more effective equipment and technology in economic sectors and to enhancing the level of the entire economy. By 1990 the contribution of science to the growth of labor productivity must reach the level of the most advanced countries. This will be accomplished, above all, through selective scientific and technical strategy and policy which would insure the concentration of the scientific potential and its intensive development through the accelerated utilization of scientific and technical achievements and world-wide experience, the expansion and increased effectiveness of scientific and technical integration with CEMA-member countries and comprehensive rapprochement with Soviet science.

In the Sixth Five-Year Plan the achievements of science and application organizations in serving production and practical work were, generally speaking, considerably better than in the previous five-year plans. However, their present development rates cannot meet the new requirements and approach to the country's economic policy. This is confirmed also by the example of Sofia's territory in which over 60 percent of the country's scientific and technical potential is concentrated.

The contribution of the scientific workers and collectives was tangibly felt in the struggle for the implementation of the pledge of Sofia's working people in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Our positive contribution was to strengthen the alliance between science and production. Over 100 cooperation contracts and joint counterplans between scientific and production units are being implemented. The 1975 review of scientific and development work in Sofia's science and application units helped to improve the planning of scientific topics and accountability and control of the implementation of plans for science and technical progress. That year we paid great attention to the utilization of Soviet and, in general, of progressive foreign scientific and technical experience in order to improve the effectiveness and level of scientific services. Currently we are taking measures to energize VUZ science. It has a comprehensive multiplication effect with relatively low costs. In some directions, however, this effect has not been achieved. On the basis of the problems developed by science and application organizations in the capital, and through additional social assignments, the Sofia City BCP Committee approved a special program for the participation of Sofia's scientific front in the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The July approach to the systematic application of the Leninist principles of the management and most effective utilization of the country's resources for the implementation of the social policy of the BCP calls for a reassessment of achievements and a reorganization of our future activities.

Science (some call it the "zero" production subdivision) and scientific services must outstrip and earmark the future quantitative and qualitative production perimeters. So far, despite our efforts, the planning and organization of application did not always insure the comprehensive preparation of the production process and of the preceding planning periods. Some of our basic research has no target and, in many cases, does not outstrip the development of corresponding production facilities or influence the making of "revolutionary" changes in them or in applied sectorial sciences, but mainly "reforms" the production process. Frequently the "basic-applied-experimental design work" triade is not found in the planning and organization of scientific research and application. A vertical integration and gradation must be present between the first and the remaining two links in order to develop the promising sectors and production facilities in which we are specializing and exporting commodities.

Practical experience has indicated that major achievements by our scientists and scientific collectives, such as, for example, the method of counterpressure casting, developed by Academician Balevski and Corresponding Member Dimov, and others, and the use of side results of basic research conducted by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and by VUZ's may substantially influence the production process through the development of new products and the application of essentially new technologies. They frequently result in stopping the importation of a number of items and the appearance of new export possibilities. Such was the case, for example, of Composition B-72-11 and of the technology of brilliant acid coppering.

Because of the impossibility to develop research in all scientific directions, and for many other reasons, scientific and technical cooperation, capital construction, foreign trade, technical aid in the building and operation of important national economic projects on the part of the USSR and other advanced socialist countries, the use of foreign experience represented by documents, prototypes, licenses, know-how, and others play an important role in the use of scientific and technical progress. This fact does not lower the role of Bulgarian science in serving the production process. On the contrary, it increases its responsibilities and possibilities for dealing more comprehensively with the problems of our scientific and technical development.

Designing and capital construction are particularly important links in this respect. Their organic linkage with scientific and application organizations is exceptionally necessary. Current practical experience reveals a number of shortcomings which are a major obstacle in the field of production technological and structural preparations to the smooth development of the "research-production" cycle. Surmounting them will shorten application time through the simultaneous crossing of specific stages or reducing the lag between them; use of higher development technology; inclusion of high technical parameters in commodity designs, and so on.

The creation of complex organizations in charge of research, design, capital construction management, and application of scientific and technical achievements intensifies the role of the structural factor in the organization

of effective collectives which make possible the application of the comprehensive problem principle. The existence of a number of applied science units exclusively following a technological direction in research and application without corresponding design work and, above all, without a corresponding machine building base, is undereffective in terms of the reconstruction and modernization of production capacities and of raising the production level higher. If the activities of such organizations are not related to capital construction, the importation of new equipment, and the use of progressive foreign experience they are frequently reduced to the petty rationalization of production processes or the accumulation of developments whose utilization is prevented for years on end due to the lack of machine building capacities or the need for a small serial production of the suggested items.

As was pointed out, the effectiveness of capital investments in upgrading production quality is about 100 percent higher than the effectiveness of expenditures aimed at increasing the production of standard quality goods. The increased role of the consumer value and of the quality of the goods produced and services offered on the domestic and foreign markets calls for making them the permanent target in the field of scientific services.

The tasks set at the 11th party congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum on upgrading quality requirements also pertain to the applied science organizations. We must upgrade the quality requirements governing the quality of scientific and technical developments and establish a corresponding system for its control at scientific and application organizations. Such experience existed years ago, when the Saratov faultless output system was being applied to these organizations as well. The currently developed comprehensive quality control system in production enterprises would be insufficiently effective without such a prerequisite. As the Novosibirsk scientists point out, currently at least two-thirds of enterprise workers are engaged, to one extent or another, in the elimination of the consequences of the insufficient reliability of scientific and technical solutions, methods, and materials.

The capital-labor ratio of the respective organizations, high-level cadre training, and the organization of cadre labor are of great importance to upgrading the quality of scientific research and development. Some scientific organizations, such as TsNIITMASH [Central Scientific Research Institute for Machine Building Technology], IRE [Institute of Radioelectronics], and others, has acquired positive experience in this direction. Currently the IRE is drafting the normative document entitled "Basic Methods for Insuring Production Quality at the "Development" Stage." Cadre possibilities and adjustment for application work are very important. The 1975 certification of scientific cadres and specialists with higher education by application organizations indicated that despite lengthy work in the scientific organization some 32 percent of the certified personnel failed to participate in the application of scientific developments and that almost 90 percent of them had submitted neither inventions nor rationalizations.

The intensification of scientific work and production, and the complex coordination of interests in the "research-production" cycle of material and moral incentives call for a very careful approach to the identification of the results of applied science work, and the assessment of economic and other effectiveness of the application and utilization of quality parameters.

The problems of scientific services to production and to social practice are complex and varied. In the spirit of the requirements of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum, we must improve their mechanism with a view to achieving not only local but multiplying economic results. Particular attention should be paid to enhancing the purposefulness and level of basic and applied research, using the great potential of scientific teaching cadres in the VUZ's and of their senior class students. The application of scientific and technical achievements calls for improved planning, organization, and equipment of development and experimental design work.

Scientific services must be all-embracing and systematic. This presumes, on the one hand, a reduction of cadre turnover and, on the other, the avoidance of structural reorganizations which hinder the continuity, consistency, and long-range work in the development of ties between science and production. According to KNTPVO [Committee for Science, Technical Progress, and Higher Education] data from the certification we mentioned of cadres in application organizations, only 23.5 percent of them did not change establishments; 25.7 percent switched twice, and 38 percent changed three to four institutions. The adverse effect of this fact on services to production is obvious and must be taken into consideration in the restructuring of the scientific front, specifically of application and development units.

In the comprehensive improvement of scientific services to production we must take into consideration the fact that, usually, the installation of new equipment influences most strongly improvements in labor productivity and quality of output and less the lowering of material-intensiveness, and even less capital return increases. The organizational support of the faster utilization of scientific and technical progress requires the more effective use of the program-target planning and management method by developing the unity, continuity, and, in many cases, the simultaneousness of the stages of the "research-production" cycle. It is only the unified planning of the development of science, the creation of new equipment, capital investments, and production and trade at different management levels that may meet the systematic requirement through which the advantages of socialism are organically linked with the opportunities of the scientific and technical revolution. That is why the further implementation of scientific and technical policy must be fully consistent with the tasks set in the BCP Central Committee theses on the development of science and technical progress in the Seventh Five-Year Plan and through 1990.

N. Iribadzhakov: I consider it fully justifiable that in our discussion the question of the multiplication approach was assigned an exceptionally important role in our discussion in connection with the problem of upgrading

the effectiveness and quality of scientific work. This approach is of exceptional importance and has a wide application. It has its philosophical aspects as well, such as, for example, when it is a question of the limits of applicability of one or another scientific discovery.

Let me emphasize the following in connection with what Academician Todorov said on basic research. Our party's and government's policy, as formulated in the respective documents, not only does not deny or underestimate basic scientific research but, on the contrary, greatly emphasizes its importance.

The problem of the development of our science is part of the big problem of the development of our society. As we know, this society is developing, and will continue to develop, under the conditions of an ever expanding and deepening integration with the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all. It is precisely under these new circumstances that our science is gaining previously unknown development possibilities on the applied and basic research levels. In my view, the need for basic scientific research is not dictated simply by the need to maintain an atmosphere of general education, but by the very laws governing the development of our socialist society and the world's socialist comity.

Academician Todorov used the term "pure science" in his statement. I consider it unsuitable, for there is no "pure science." Each science is related to social practice.

Iv. Todorov: It was quote pure unquote.

N. Iribadzhakov: Then I have no objections.

Comrade Professor Spasov properly raised the question of the "pseudosciences." In my view, it is less a question of pseudosciences, even though such may appear, than of pseudoscientific work. Supporting Professor Spasov's statement, let me also emphasize that some people imagine being engaged in scientific work by expressing elementary truths as unclearly as possible and in a high-toned scientific phraseology. It is even worse when they mechanically borrow from bourgeois publications terms and concepts which they present as creative contributions to the development of Marxist science.

The struggle against such phenomena is one of the tasks of our scientific criticism which is a mandatory prerequisite for the creative development of science. This is also stipulated in the decisions of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum on upgrading the effectiveness and quality of scientific work. The main factor in the implementation of these decisions, however, is the very expansion of creative research and applied science work for the successful implementation of the great tasks of the building of socialism set by the party to our society.

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HUSAK ISSUES ORDER OF THE DAY ON ANNIVERSARY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7/9 May 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[CTK Report: "President of the Republic's Order of the Day"]

[Text] On the 32d anniversary of the culmination of our people's National Liberation Struggle and of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, the CSSR president, Gustav Husak, has issued the following order of the day:

Comrades-members of CSSR Armed Forces:

Thirty years ago our people's national liberation struggle against fascist enslavement ended victoriously. The heroic Soviet Army, to which the progressive people of the whole world are indebted for the epoch-making victory over Hitlerite fascism, rid our fatherland of fascist enslavement and brought freedom to the nations of Czechoslovakia.

We are celebrating today's anniversary of our fatherland's liberation by the Soviet Army and the victory over fascism in the year of the 60th anniversary of the greatest event of the 20th century--the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Soviet Union's heroic struggle and selfless aid have profoundly influenced the popular masses' antifascist National Liberation Struggle, which has brought about profound democratic changes in a number of countries, has opened the road to socialism for their nations and led to the establishment of the world socialist system.

Under the leadership of the glorious CPSU, the Soviet Union, its heroic people and Army, bore on its shoulders the main brunt of World War II and participated to a decisive degree in the smashing of Hitlerite fascism. In the most difficult historical test they reliably defended the results of the Great October and fulfilled their international legacy with honor. They saved civilization from the barbarism of fascism and liberated a number of countries from its bondage.

The victory of the Soviet people and its Army in the Great Patriotic War convincingly documented the enormous superiority of the socialist social

system, of Soviet military science and military art, and of the socialist Army's moral and combat strength. In the course of World War II the Soviet Union proved before the whole world that it is a reliable support of nations in their struggle for peace, national and social freedom and international understanding. The development in the world in the past 32 years has fully confirmed this role of the USSR as the most consistent fighter for just peace, social progress and the right of nations to independence and equitable cooperation.

Together with the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army, the victorious conclusion of the National Liberation Struggle of the Czech and Slovak people, led by the CPCZ, also opened to our nations the road for building a new, socially just society. In their hearts there is preserved forever love for and gratitude to their liberator, the Soviet Army and its heroes, to whom they owe thanks for being able to live in a socialist society today. They are firmly safeguarding the unbreakable friendship between our fraternal countries and armies, sealed with blood in joint combat actions. Respect and gratitude will forever belong to those who, inspired by the CPCZ's struggle, contributed to the victory over fascism and to the building of a new, socialist state--the happy home of the people of our country.

The working people of our fatherland, firmly united in the National Front, are consistently implementing the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress under the party's guidance. With creative work and political and social activity in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October, they are demonstrating that the policy of the party and the socialist state have their full confidence and support.

The international standing of the CSSR, leaning on firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, anchored in the CSSR-Soviet Treaty of Alliance which was concluded 7 years ago, insures the security, independence and freedom of our nations and the peaceful work of the people. We fully support the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and of progressive forces throughout the world to insure lasting peace, equitable international cooperation, freedom and independence of nations.

However, we do not forget the activities of influential reactionary and militarist forces which oppose understanding among states and nations, the relaxation of international tension, and which orient themselves on a further feverish armament and the policy of acting from a position of strength.

Members of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces are vigilantly safeguarding our socialist fatherland against the intrigues of its enemies. They are constantly increasing their political vigilance and combat readiness. In the interest of the international defense of socialism they are incessantly strengthening fraternal bonds with the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the other states of the Warsaw Pact. They are demonstrating their allegiance to the working people, their socialist patriotism and internationalism through improving the standard of their combat and political preparedness.

Comrades-members of the CSSR Armed Forces:

I congratulate you on the 32d anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army!

Through a consistent implementation of the 15th CPCZ Congress' line, continue to develop the revolutionary legacy of our people's National Liberation Struggle!

Maintain high revolutionary vigilance and combat-readiness! Continue to improve the standard of the education and training of the troops! Learn from the Soviet Armed Forces' wealth of experience!

May the eternal friendship and fraternal cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR and the other socialist countries, and the firm combat friendship between their Armed Forces constantly strengthen!

Long live the Czechoslovak working people and their leading force---the CPCZ!

On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the culmination of the National Liberation Struggle of our people, of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, and of the CSSR national day, I order that 20 artillery salvoes be fired in the CSSR capital Prague and in the SSR capital Bratislava.

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

TSEDENBAL OF MPR ADDRESSES EAST BERLIN FRIENDSHIP RALLY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 May 77 pp 3-4 AU

[Speech by MPRP Central Committee First Secretary Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal at a friendship rally at the East Berlin Palace of the Republic on 6 May 77]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker! Dear Comrade Willi Stoph! Dear citizens of the GDR capital Berlin! Dear comrades and friends!

The stay we are experiencing in these days in your beautiful country greatly honors us, the party-government delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], and gives us particular joy. We are most deeply moved by the extraordinary cordial reception. The warmth and the hospitality of the party and state leadership, of the broad masses of the friendly GDR's working people.

We value the meetings with you, our fellow combatants and class brothers, as a visible expression of the constantly deepening relations of unbreakable friendship and the close all-round cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples. (stormy applause)

Permit me, on behalf of our delegation of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], and of all Mongolian people, to extend to you and to all communists and working people of the socialist GDR the most cordial greetings and to wish you good health, much luck in personal life, and new successes in the work for the benefit of your socialist fatherland. (loud applause)

We would like to thank you with all our heart for the reception extended to us, for the sincere feelings of friendship, fraternity, and international solidarity, for the support in shaping a new life. (loud long-lasting applause)

During our stay in the GDR, our delegation had an opportunity for many meetings with your country's working people; we were able to acquaint ourselves with your people's achievements in shaping the developed socialist society, with the work of the party and state organs, as well as with the economic and social institutions. We were able to see with our own eyes that in the GDR all

prerequisites exist for the successful implementation of the historical decisions adopted by the Ninth SED Congress. We share with you the joy over the splendid successes of the GDR working people, and very highly appreciate your endeavors aimed at insuring the continuous further development of the productive forces, increasing the effectiveness of social production, perfecting production conditions, and at continuously raising the people's material and cultural living standard.

Under the leadership of its vanguard, the SED, the GDR workers class--relying on the revolutionary traditions of its outstanding champions Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann, and Wilhelm Pieck--honorably fulfills its historical mission and successfully implements the great ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The GDR is today a flourishing state with a highly developed industry, advanced science and technology, an intensive agriculture, a country where, through the creative work of the people, the foundation of the magnificent palace of communism is being built.

This is above all the result of the great political and organizational work of the SED and its Central Committee, the unselfish endeavors of the workers class and the working intelligentsia, the result of the all-round development and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries on the basis of the consistent strengthening and deepening of socialist economic integration.

I take pleasure in stating that in the past years truly profound changes have occurred in the GDR in all walks of life and in the awareness of the working people.

The international position of the GDR, too, has undergone no less of a change. It has acquired its worldwide recognition as a sovereign socialist state.

The GDR is an active champion of peace and of friendship among peoples. It makes a weighty and constructive contribution to the normalization of the situation in Europe, to strengthening peace and international security. Jointly, with the fraternal socialist countries, it consistently advocates the deepening of the process of detente and the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In its foreign policy, the GDR organically combines securing its own national interests with safeguarding the joint interests of the community of socialist states, with the strengthening of their unity and cohesion.

The dynamic development of the GDR, its comprehensive political and economic cooperation with the other socialist countries, its loyalty to the principles of internationalism, its consistency in implementing the foreign policy course--all this creates favorable conditions to successfully implement the aim of further shaping the developed socialist society so as to create in

this way fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism, as is stated in the new program adopted by the Ninth SED Congress. I wish you with all my heart great successes and much energy for this noble work. (strong, prolonged applause)

Dear comrades and friends, for more than a quarter of a century the peoples of the MPR and of the GDR have marched jointly with other countries of the socialist community on the road of socialism, on which they render one another mutual aid and support.

The common interests, aims, and ideals of the MPRP and the SED, their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the principles of socialist internationalism, are the foundation of the friendship between the MPR and the GDR. We are linked by the great friendship with our common faithful friend and ally, the USSR, the reliable bulwark and the main force of the socialist world system. The friendship with the great Soviet Union and the close all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries have become a natural norm and inseparable constituent part of our life.

We note with deep satisfaction that the fraternal solidarity between the MPR and the GDR, and the close multifarious collaboration of the MPR and the GDR develop further and grow stronger year after year, that this alliance contributes to the mutual enrichment of the work of party and state organs, that it bears rich and clearly visible fruit which are an effective aid for the peoples of our two countries in advancing on the road of building the socialist society. (stormy applause)

Just as the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the GDR renders the MPR extensive economic aid. This aid, which is an expression of the internationalist character of the relations among the socialist states, evokes the feeling of deep gratitude among the broad masses of our country's working people. (strong applause)

A factor of great importance in accelerating the development rate of the MPR's national economy is the GDR's financial and technical aid in building a number of important industrial plants, in jointly implementing geological surveys, in boosting the production of certain types of agricultural products, in introducing modern methods in veterinary medicine, as well as the GDR's support in training skilled cadres for the national economy. We note with great satisfaction and appreciation that the unselfish work of the highly qualified GDR specialists, who are directly participating in the socialist construction in the MPR, is a concrete contribution to strengthening the fraternal friendship of our countries and peoples. (strong, long-lasting applause)

The official friendship visit by the GDR party-government delegation, led by our close friend Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the MPR in October 1973 was a new high point in strengthening the fraternal alliance of our parties

and peoples, as well as in further developing the political, economic, and cultural cooperation between the MPR and the GDR. (stormy applause)

With a feeling of great joy and satisfaction, I want to stress that during the friendly talks and negotiations with Comrade Erich Honecker and the other comrades of the GDR party and state leadership we have again this time carried out a fruitful exchange of views on a number of problems which concern both the current international situation, and the bilateral relations between our two countries. (strong applause) At the center of the negotiations were of course the questions regarding bilateral relations and the tasks involved to further deepen and develop the close cooperation between the MPR and the GDR.

Our talks and negotiations have again confirmed the complete identity of our two fraternal parties' and governments' views on all questions that were discussed.

We have discussed in principle the various aspects of the relations between our parties, states, and peoples in the spirit of complete mutual understanding, of trust, cordiality and comradeship. We are agreed that the further all-round deepening of friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR not only serves the very interests of the peoples of our two countries, but also contributes to strengthening the unity and comprehensive cohesion of the community of socialist states. This is the goal which is served by the important documents we have signed today, especially the new treaty on friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR, which undoubtedly initiates a qualitatively new phase in the development of our relations.

The further development and deepening of the bilateral relations between our two states, their multifarious cooperation within the CEMA framework, the necessity for the socialist nations to draw closer together and to deepen the political, economic, and ideopolitical cooperation of the fraternal countries, the growth and the strengthening of the international position of the first German worker-peasant state, and the positive changes in the world arena--all this is reflected in the new treaty on friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR.

The new treaty, which is based on the rich experiences of cooperation and the good traditions of friendly relations between the MPR and the GDR, determines the main trends of the collaboration of our fraternal countries, and is a firm foundation to further deepen and perfect all forms of cooperation.

We have also signed a protocol on economic and scientific-technical cooperation which provides for a further development in the economic collaboration between our two countries in the coming years.

We very sincerely convey once more very cordially our thanks to the SED Central Committee, its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, to the government and the entire GDR people for their readiness to continue rendering internationalist aid and support in developing the MPR national economy and in raising the material prosperity of the Mongolian people. (stormy applause)

The treaty on friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR at the same time is of great international importance. It reflects our people's determination to struggle actively and indefatigably to strengthen peace and international security, as well as to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and to support the peoples in their struggle for freedom and social progress.

Dear friends, at present the Mongolian people are working with great enthusiasm to implement the comprehensive program that was adopted by the 17th MPRP Congress. The Mongolian working people are fulfilling the tasks of the second year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan for the development of the country's national economy and culture and, like the working people of the other fraternal socialist countries, they are developing socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The successful implementation of the decisions of our party's 17th Congress will be an important milestone in the advancement of the MPR on the road of socialism.

Today, Mongolia is an agrarian-industrial state with a rapidly developing economy. The socialist industry has become the most important branch of material production. At present it is producing 15 times more than before the war.

The MPR is facing the complicated task of completing the establishment of the material-technical basis of socialism, the transformation of the MPR into an industrial-agrarian country, and of approaching the level of the developed socialist states. The Mongolian people can solve the tasks involved in the accelerated pace of the country's development and a quick upsurge of its economy by utilizing the advantages of the international division of labor, and by relying on the growing aid of the fraternal socialist countries.

As you do, dear friends, we also attribute great importance to the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the party of Lenin--the CPSU. On this basis, on the basis of further strengthening the unity of the countries of socialism, of intensifying the struggle for peace, security, and social progress of the peoples, we are preparing ourselves for a worthy celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the most important event of our century.

We can note with pride that all achievements of the Mongolian people, its successes and feats in shaping a new life are inseparably linked with the liberating ideas of the Great October, and with the comprehensive fraternal aid and support of the first country of socialism, the Soviet Union, (strong, prolonged applause)

The 60th anniversary of the Great October gives a new impetus to the revolutionary world process, to the struggle of the peoples for peace, freedom, national independence, and for general security.

We note with great satisfaction that the countries of the socialist society are undertaking great efforts to strengthen peace and security throughout the

world, to deepen the process of detente and to make it irreversible, and to assert the principle of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with different social systems by pursuing a coordinated and active foreign political course.

The Warsaw Pact member-states are the initiators of very important proposals and practical measures aimed at stopping the arms race, effecting disarmament, and the renunciation of force in international relations, as well as the liquidation of existing conflicts and tensions, and thus at liberating mankind from the danger of a new world war. In this spirit, the meeting of the Warsaw Pact political consultative committee held at the end of November last year opened up a new important stage in the struggle for deepening detente.

An outstanding role in improving the political climate in the world and in strengthening general security is assigned to the CPSU and the USSR as well as to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, personally, whose name is linked inseparably with the consistent implementation of the peace program. Our party and the MPR Government regard the intensification of the struggle to implement the program adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress on the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of the peoples, as our collective main goal.

The MPR consistently supports the class-conscious and internationalist policy and the struggle of the GDR to further normalize the relations between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of the agreements concluded between them. We are equally for the strict observance of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, and for the abandonment of all attempts to utilize this territory for hostile purposes against the GDR and the other socialist countries.

We are fully aware that the enemies of peace and detente are attempting to launch a counterattack, and trying to discredit the process of detente in the eyes of the world public. By their provocative attempts to launch a slanderous campaign against the socialist countries in connection with so-called violations of human rights, they want to disguise the true nature of imperialist policy, camouflage their attempts at interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist states, and sow distrust against real socialism and the international socialist movement. The Marxist-Leninists see through these intentions of the enemies and are giving them a resolute rebuff!

Under the influence of the positive changes which are taking place in the world, prerequisites for normalizing the situation in Asia are emerging. As an Asian socialist country, the MPR is actively struggling to strengthen peace and security on the Asian continent. It is convinced that Asia can and must live according to the laws of peace, and broad, mutually profitable cooperation.

We are striving to develop relations with the other Asian states, and to contribute to the struggle of the progressive forces of Asia for national independence and social progress, and against the imperialist machinations.

The Vietnamese people have won a historical victory. The formation of the United Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an important contribution to the further strengthening of the positions of world socialism. After Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have won their struggle for freedom and their peoples are embarking upon the path of an independent development and social progress.

Vietnam's example has convincingly proved that, under the present conditions, there exist concrete possibilities for eliminating the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension. Detente and normalization of relations between all countries of Asia would create favorable prerequisites for solving the complicated socioeconomic problems facing them, and for safeguarding a durable peace and all-Asian security.

In Asia there are still a good many unresolved problems. The settlement of the situation in the Middle East continues to be a most topical and serious problem. Our position is clear and unequivocal, and is that of the other countries of socialism. We advocate a settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of a complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all occupied Arab regions, and respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The MPR supports the struggle of the peoples in the south of Africa for freedom and independence, against racial discrimination, and the policy of apartheid.

We are convinced that the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy, and social progress will be all the more successful the stronger socialism is in the world, the stronger the anti-imperialist solidarity of the contemporary revolutionary forces becomes.

In this context, I would like to stress that the conference of communist and workers parties of Europe which took place in 1976 in Berlin was an important event of the greatest international significance.

The document worked out by this conference is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and contains the joint assessment and conclusions of the communist and workers parties on a number of topical problems such as the struggle to halt the arms race, to deepen international detente, and for the vital interests of the working people.

The MPRP is loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, and it is firmly determined to continue incessantly to struggle for further strengthening the unity of the countries of the socialist community, for closing the ranks of the international communist and workers movement, and for strengthening the solidarity and close cooperation with the fraternal parties and peoples. (stormy applause)

Dear comrades, our visit to your beautiful country is nearing its end. I want to state once more with the greatest satisfaction that the exchange of views

with Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and with the other leading comrades of the GDR party and government has been very useful and fruitful. (strong, prolonged applause)

We are firmly convinced that the results of our negotiations, and the documents signed by us, are of great importance for further deepening the friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR, and for implementing the common tasks ahead of us in the struggle for the triumph of peace and of socialism.

I would like to wish you, dear friends, all communists and working people of the GDR, new outstanding successes in implementing the historical decisions of the Ninth SED Congress in the struggle to strengthen peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. (stormy, prolonged applause)

Long live the GDR, a firm constituent part of the community of socialist states! (long-lasting applause)

Long live the SED and its Central Committee, headed by the upright Marxist-Leninist, the great friend of the Mongolian people, Comrade Erich Honecker! (the rally participants rise from their seats; strong long-lasting applause)

May the unbreakable friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR be further strengthened! (stormy, prolonged applause)

Long live the standard bearer of peace and of friendship among the peoples-- the great Soviet Union! (strong, long-lasting applause)

Long live the immortal, victorious teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin! (long-lasting, stormy applause; rhythmic clapping; cheers)

CSO: 2300

ROLE OF PLANT DEMOCRACY DEFINED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 77 pp 4-5

[Article by Marton Buza: "Democracy in the Plants"]

[Text] Democracy in plants is part of the socialist democracy. It expresses that every worker of the socialist state-operated enterprises has the right to participate directly or through his representatives--within the limits of the enterprise's autonomy--in the economic management. In proportion to these rights he is responsible for the cause of the growth and operation of the place of work. Plant democracy helps in the realization of the working class' leading role, in the increase of community thinking and feeling of responsibility, in the escalation of the workers' activity, in the improvement of the level of economic management and through this the primary realization of the interests of society as a whole. The political contents and power character of plant democracy is clear from all this. Plant democracy is a characteristic method of exercising authority, a system of institutions through which the workers of socialist enterprises can take part in decisions of economic and political character in the most important area of their lives and activities: in the plants, the place of work. And the party organization is primarily responsible for accomplishing this.

The political responsibility of the party's local organs and organizations for plant democracy could only develop when the party had already created the high level of autonomy of its organizations and its elected leadership organs. For this, that degree of freedom of activity had to be made possible whereby the enterprise's party organs, according to the guidance of higher party forums, work out the concrete local political tasks themselves, the individual methods of solving them and organize independently the successful execution of the resolutions of higher organs. This task primarily demands a high level of analytical work, within which all the political processes taking place at the given enterprise must be systematically examined and evaluated. A particularly important, unique task of the party organs is the party supervision of economic management and of the unions' activities, the urging and constant development of the partnership relations and creative cooperation of these two organs.

The basic principle of enterprise management is assertion of individual responsibility and plant democracy is not a denial of this but an important support. The members of leadership, besides their political responsibility are also legally, materially and morally responsible for the activities of the economic units or institutions managed by them. The political side of the activities of economic managers is that their decisions and resolutions must be in harmony with society's interests. The decision is one person's, but in the development of these decisions, in checking the executions we must assure the participation of the enterprise's collective.

This obligation, unfortunately, is often narrowed down to holding the production meetings regularly, or "assuring" the cooperation of the representative organs. But the obligation of the economic managers in the realization of plant democracy is much more complex. They must, for example, take care of the conditions for further training of the workers in their trades, for their educational opportunities, they must encourage comments on the merits of cases, free expression of opinions, they must initiate the creative cooperation of supervisors and subordinates at every level.

Modernization of the enterprise's internal mechanism is a very important condition that the workers can actually participate in management, there and at that level where they can do this best and with the best degree of effectiveness. If the enterprise's internal mechanism is not modern, if the lower level supervisors do not have sufficient spheres of authority and responsibility, it can hardly be imagined that the workers can participate actively in shaping the decisions and in keeping an eye on the execution. This is so because the majority of the workers can comment on the merits and participate directly and best in the management of their own shop, their own place of work, in deciding issues known the best by them, on the merits. It is much more difficult, more complicated and requires more knowledge, greater preparation to comment on problems which affect the entire enterprise. Therefore, the right of comment by the workers at this level is exercised through their elected representative organs.

The modernization of the enterprises' internal system of management is only proceeding very slowly, with problems. There are also objective limits of decentralization, of broadening the spheres of authority of lower level management. Not everything can be decided at the lower level, immediately in the shop, not even at the intermediary level. This is why no one demands, claims that, for example, appointments, complicated investments, foreign trade and financial issues be decided in the plants. But it is a proper and urgent need that decisions about the method of solution of plan assignments designated for them, about local work policy issues, the possibility of improving working conditions be made at the shop or plant level. Of course, for this it is necessary that contrary to the views held widely, everyone should see it clearly: not only the plant manager, but the foreman also is a single-person responsible leader. That is, at every production level one person must lead responsibly, independently, with initiative--even though he is also being supervised. But orders can only be given through

him to those assigned to him, in tasks which affect him; decisions at higher levels cannot be made without him. If this is how we understand single-person and responsible management, this yields the possibility that most questions will be resolved at that level where they first occurred. This is how collective supervision by the workers over the lower and middle management can materialize.

Only that manager can be held responsible, his activity judged, evaluated democratically who runs the affairs of his department with some degree of independence and freedom. Those who only satisfy directives received from above can only be evaluated from above, from the office. Until the principle of single-person responsible management valid for every level does not materialize consistently plant democracy cannot develop sufficiently, either. Plant democracy is not only the democracy of subordinate workers, but it is also the democracy of various level supervisors.

Today the workers can turn confidently with any of their problems to the supervisors, in fact, they are constantly being urged to tell their problems and experiences of the place of work. This is the general opinion. At the same time they feel at many places that if they give an answer to the workers, with this they have discharged, satisfied democracy. This is an erroneous viewpoint! The problems must be solved, the workers' just desires must be satisfied as the possibilities permit it.

Under our circumstances the enterprise's trade union organs are also operating as organs of plant democracy, therefore, we have no separate representative organs of plant democracy. Experience thus far shows that the trade union representative organs have basically carried out well their rights in connection with making the collective contracts and preparing other enterprise regulations, the rights of independent decisionmaking and agreement, participation in labor-related decisions, the right of voicing an opinion. Basically they have used the right of veto and the right of overseeing correctly.

Within the framework of representation, besides the rights, they also materialized their political obligations. The trade union movement has admittedly done a big job in organizing the labor competition and brigade movements, in organizing the DH [work without mistakes] work system, in strengthening work and technological disciplines. They helped and assisted the correct measures by the enterprise to improve efficiency. They cooperated in organizing the training and further education of the workers. In spite of the results the trade unions' representative activity is not using all of its possibilities yet and is not satisfying the demands fully.

The activities of the trade unions' representative bodies are democratic, successful and effective when they take into consideration the opinion of the trade union organs operating at the lower levels, of the appointed representatives and of the entire membership. But besides this it is also necessary to urge in a result-oriented manner that the workers express their opinions, to forward their suggestions, observations to the proper trade union organs, that in their taking of positions the wishes of the bodies and the collective be properly reflected.

One of the central issues of deepening the plant democracy is the improvement of the level of the direct forums. The production meetings, the workers' meetings are those forums in which all the workers of the enterprise can participate in management. The precondition of this is the good preparation of the meetings mentioned, thorough advance information, and further that the reports presented to the democratic forum may be easily understandable and should discuss clearly the problems and tasks awaiting solution. Development of the direct forums requires the increase of the general and trade knowledge of the workers, of all the employees. The realization of this goal is at the same time in the interest of society as a whole also. But we cannot consider it a precondition of plant democracy. One cannot agree with the opinion that first the level of education should increase, first the workers should study, then there will be plant democracy. We know, for example, that there are many problems with expanding the rights and authorities of the representatives. The representatives must study in order that they could discharge their assignments, they must acquire much knowledge so that they could assume the proper positions. But the spheres of their authority were not broadened in such a way that "first you should know everything, should be able to do everything, then we will broaden the circles of your rights and your sphere of authority!" But we urge him: Study, broaden your knowledge, so that you can practice your rights well and carry out your responsibilities well.

To further develop direct participation in management, they introduced at 25 enterprises, on the basis of the party's resolution, as an experiment the meetings of workers' representatives, and, at 25 others, the meetings of the trustees. The results of the experiments are: the trade union trustees, the organization of the chief trustees proved to be more fit for life, richer in content, more useful and better fitted for broad spectrum of leadership, and for developing plant democracy. First, because the body of trustees is an already existing operating organ built into the system of the enterprise's organization and movement. The trustees in shaping their opinions can rely on their group. The workers and management know and acknowledge them alike, thus their informedness, their connections are permanent, continuous and the majority of the trustees also have significant experience in movements. All these provide a realistic foundation for the trustees to relay and correctly represent the workers' opinions. According to the experience this requires that the trustees, the chief trustees in the representation of the workers' entirety should meet together with the enterprise trade union council or with the enterprise's trade union committee. This essentially new forum has the right of agreement in making the collective contracts, in accepting the annual report on performance, or in the necessary modifications, in the issues of the extent of the annual wage improvements and the principles of its distribution, the distribution of the share fund and in developing the enterprise social plan.

It takes a stand in the distribution of the social, cultural, sport, aid and vacation funds. And, finally, it has an opinion on the medium-range and on the annual plans of the enterprise, and on the annual activities of the enterprise's economic leadership (directors and their deputies). Before the

conferences the trustees must receive the written reports. They must request the opinion of the trade union group on the issues which appear in these. And after the meeting they have to report on what had taken place there.

What should be contained, for example, in the opinion formed about the economic management's annual activity? It should analyze the management work performed for the success of production and of the economic management. It should examine the leadership activity expended in the interest of improving the workers' living and working conditions, of materializing plant democratism and of creating a good atmosphere at the place of work. Finally, it should extend over whether the enterprise managers lead the collective in an organized manner and maintain discipline. The character of the opinion formed may be of several types: it may positively acknowledge the manager's entire activity, or besides establishing the fundamental positive aspects it may make critical comments, suggestions for improving the work or--in an extreme case--it may initiate the examination of whether the economic managers are suitable for their tasks. The taking of a stand developed in this manner is in itself significant because it contains such an evaluated judgment of the enterprise's public opinion which cannot be immaterial to the manager. Because of all of this, the forming of opinion is a step ahead along the road of developing the mutual interdependent relationship of managers and subordinates.

By solving the duties described here we can achieve that plant democracy should ever more appropriately fulfill the present requirements and aid better in realizing party policy, the building of the advanced socialist society.

8584

CSO: 2500

ALCOHOL ABUSE, ATTENDANT SOCIAL PROBLEMS DISCLOSED

Budapest KOZLEKEDESI KOZLONY in Hungarian 6 Mar 77 pp 174-176

[Article by Gyorgy Varga: "On Some Issues of Alcoholism"]

[Excerpts] Results can only be achieved against alcoholism, which has grown to epidemic proportions in Hungary, only through society's cooperation, organized and consistent work. Besides this, administrative measures are also necessary, which are prescribed by the party resolutions, laws, governmental orders, trade instructions, regulations and last, but not least, by the labor protection regulations issued in connection with this.

In spite of the measures taken thus far, of the broad-ranging labor of enlightenment, the increase in consumption of alcoholic beverages has regrettably become permanent in character, a dominating trend. This is unavoidably followed by an increase in the number of alcoholic patients, as well as the accumulation of heavy damages--which can partly be shown statistically, but partly cannot even be measured by numbers.

The quantity of alcoholic beverages sold in our country during the Fourth Five-Year Plan increased by 23.4 percent; thus the average of the annual growth is about 4.7 percent. Breaking this average down to beverage groups shows a very unfavorable picture; the highest rate was that of hard alcoholic beverages, 29.6 percent; this was followed by beer at 20.5 percent, while wine did not even reach 1 percent. Because of the unfavorable composition, the quantity calculated in terms of absolute alcohol was about 10 percent higher in 1975 than 5 years earlier.

The rapid rate of increase in the consumption of hard alcoholic beverages is typical not only for the Fourth Five-Year Plan. Comparison with 1960 is shocking, compared to which in 1975 the wine index is 127.1 percent, beer 195.1 percent and hard alcoholic liquors 250 percent. Compared to the times before liberation, wine consumption is 40 percent higher; beer is 20-fold; hard liquor is double. Last year the population spent an average of 2,500 forints per person on alcoholic drinks. Eighteen percent of the [total] population and 32 percent of the population of localities

of less than 5,000 population are "regular drinkers." It is very regrettable, and may have immeasurable consequences, that alcoholism is spreading dangerously within the circles of youth, in many cases due to the influence of the parents and adults. One research showed that in the villages 62 percent of the students consume alcohol with parental permission. According to another collection of data 72 percent of the secondary school boys and 43 percent of the girls drink alcoholic beverages practically regularly.

The excessive consumption of alcohol and the drunkenness are serious social and popular economic problems. According to the conclusions of the Ministry of Interior, in recent years crimes of force, accidents, other damages to health and the breaking up of family lives were to a large extent connected with being under the influence of alcohol. All these cause immeasurable damage and losses. Many crimes would not be committed, had the perpetrator not consumed alcohol! In 1975, 22 percent of the homicides were committed under the influence of alcohol; every third suicide was an alcoholic; of the habitual drinkers, 16 percent changed jobs five or more times in 5 years; in about half of the divorces the reason for divorce was alcoholism; and 11.4 percent of thefts committed during breakins, 17.6 percent of the robberies, 37.7 percent of the crimes connected with ravaging and 17.9 percent of the serious bodily damage cases were committed under the influence of alcohol. In the same year the police organs initiated misdemeanor processes in almost 20,000 cases for scandalous drunkenness.

Putting the brakes on the further proliferation of alcoholism is the duty of not only health care and interior departmental organs but of the entire society! The MSZMP Politburo called attention years ago to the socially dangerous nature of alcoholism and emphasized that "the excessive consumption of alcohol and drunkenness are social, moral, people's economic and political problems and are incompatible with the socialist morale and damaging to society."

Following this, numerous measures were taken at the government level. The National Antialcoholism Committee (AEOB) was created, which coordinates the tasks and measures to be taken by the state and by society in connection with the battle against alcoholism and organizes the educational work of enlightenment directed at overcoming this dangerous epidemic. The national committee can point to significant results, but there is a need in the future for new top level assistance and for appropriate, definite measures compulsory for every citizen.

The AEOB, as is well known, is endeavoring to realize those multilevel goals with the aid of the representatives, activists of the portfolios, main authorities and social organs which are prescribed for it by the higher party, social and governmental organs. The national committee president is the minister of health; its secretary is the general secretary of the Hungarian Red Cross. The immediate work is directed by the

secretariat. (We may obtain detailed information about the KPM's [Ministry of Transportation and Postal Affairs] work in this direction in issue No 41 of KOZLEKEDESI KOZLONY 1974.)

They desire to promote the realization of the Politburo's quoted resolution through the interested ministries, main authorities and social organs, giving detailed information at the AEOP's plenary sessions about their antialcoholism activities conducted in their areas. At the last session one of the heads of the Ministry of Domestic Commerce presented detailed information about their most important steps. In examining the issue of alcoholism he started out from the point that it is a socioeconomic phenomenon. It follows from this that slowing down its spread is the cause of the entire society, mainly of the economic management. He considers prevention, the increase of educational activity of enlightenment and the carrying out of the economic and administrative measures to aid in this as the most important tasks. The "fundamental judgment" is that no equation sign can be placed between the moderate consumption of alcohol and alcoholism. But no one can remain indifferent in the face of the rapid rate of increase of alcohol consumption, of alcoholism.

The battle against alcoholism in Hungary does not consider the complete prohibition of consumption, abstinence, to be its task, but that consumption should not exceed the socially acceptable extent; it should not damage the individual's health and society itself. Naturally in the case of children, adolescents and sick people the propaganda is directed at complete abstinence.

Alcoholism, the development of a habitual drinking lifestyle has very many components; the battle conducted against it must also be multidirectional, but it can never and nowhere be merely a campaign task, it must be understood at every level as an activity requiring great patience, and work must be done in a considered, planned manner. Lasting results can only be achieved through consistent educational activity of enlightenment encompassing the entire society. Besides this of course there is a need for decisive regulation by the state, for administrative measures.

The struggle against alcoholism was the topic of this year's 21 January joint session of the National Assembly Social and Health Affairs and Domestic Trade committees. The subject is very timely, and, what's more, the balance of the time passed since the party resolution brought on this subject in 1960 makes it urgent that a definite taking of position should be born once more at the highest level. On the basis of the report discussed, the debate which developed, the comments of the congressional representatives and of the invited specialists, such a picture developed which can properly be characterized with "two-facedness": on the one hand the results of regulations, orders, social and even some economic efforts and incentives which guide in the right direction; but on the other the failures of these same efforts and the, at times, doubtful,

dissimilar approaches of the goals. One can meet at very many places--according to the finding of the commission--"with not enough consistent practical support...with the annoying phenomena of incompleteness."

The battle against alcoholism in Hungary is necessarily preventive in outlook, since the pushing back of this damaging phenomenon (sickness of habit) depends to a large extent on the success of prevention. Thus the preventive activity must be concentrated decisively on excessive drinking, primarily through the shaping of social conscience. The drunken person is the humiliation of human dignity, not only for the drunk individual but also for those passively viewing it.

According to experience, social drinking causes less problems where a cultured form of it is developed. In general during ceremonial, social occasions connected with meals and where the social morale frowns on getting drunk. The antialcohol propaganda must be such that it should not bother the temperate social drinker but very much so the intemperate one, and mainly to prevent the confusion of these two types of drinking in the public mind. In our society [which is] building socialism one must not accept it that for hundreds of thousands of people alcohol should be practically the only cultural demand! It is without doubt that it can be unconditionally achieved by society pulling together, by planned, sacrificing, unselfish work in the interest of the present and of the future!

8584

CSO: 2500

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

COMPENSATION FOR MILK DONORS--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that women who donate mother's milk will receive, in compensation, 62 lei for each liter of mother's milk donated. Women who donate mother's milk will be given medical care, medicine, and health materials free of charge during the period in which they are donating the milk and, in the case of hospitalization they will receive support. The mother's milk donated will be collected and given to infants on the basis of a medical prescription and only through the health units. The payment of the compensation will be assured from the funds set aside in the expenditure plans of the health units where the milk is collected, under the article "medicines." Council of Ministers Decision No 2168/1956 on the approval of the regulation on the organization and operation of mother's milk donation points, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 57 of 6 November 1956 is abrogated. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 27 Apr 77 p 2]

GROZA OFF COUNCIL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Octavian Groza is relieved of his position as first vice chairman of the National Council of Science and Technology. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 27 Apr 77 p 2]

MANOLESCU REMOVAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Manolescu is relieved of his position as Deputy Minister of the chemical industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 27 Apr 77 p 3]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

TITO COMMENTS ON BEAUTY, SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW BELGRADE

Urban Area Former Swamp

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 14 May 77 LD

["President Tito's Speech at the End of the Talks in the New Belgrade Municipal Assembly"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade--at the end of the talks in the Municipal Assembly in New Belgrade, Comrade Tito said:

Allow me, first of all, to thank you most sincerely for inviting Jovanka and myself to visit New Belgrade, and to thank the citizens of New Belgrade for the magnificent welcome they arranged for us and the warmth which they showed on our arrival. This means that the citizens, regardless of the various difficulties which still face us and with which individuals and collectives meet every day, are satisfied with the situation as it is today in this country. This also results from the fact that they know what it was like in the past and that they see that it gets better every day, as far, of course, as material and other factors allow.

I have always followed the construction of Belgrade, and especially of New Belgrade, with great interest. I was concerned to see that not only what was demolished in the war should be restored, but also that as much new construction as possible should be put up. New Belgrade is today one of the most beautiful urban areas which I have ever seen. It is a beautiful town. However, I had thought that it was going to become a half-million settlement, and now I hear that the plans provide for 250,000 inhabitants. However, if necessary, you will have to build more here, for I do not know where else you could, as the population will grow more and more.

I am pleased that you have decided not to build blocks of flats with more than 10 floors. That is good, for it is not easy for those who have to go by foot when the elevator breaks down.

And so, here, where there used to be marsh and where we used to shoot wild duck, a beautiful part of Belgrade has risen up. I remember how we in the

Politburo of our party used to look at this swampy area from the Kalemegdan. We decided to build first of all a building for the Federal Executive Council. It took a long time to build, and some outsiders started saying that we were incapable of finishing it. We explained to them that it was not a case of that, nor of insufficient means, but rather of an experiment. We wanted to see how things would go on that sort of ground. For it was necessary to sink piles to a depth of 18 meters to a solid base. Now statesmen coming to our country admire this building. It is really modern, beautiful and functional.

And now I look at those high-rise flats that have been built. There are some very beautiful ones among them. On the whole they are beautiful, but there are a lot which, to tell you the truth, I do not like at all, for example, those with windows that look like televisions. If only they were not built in such prominent places. They do say, however, that those flats are comfortable and that inside it is quite pleasant. However, it must also be insured that the exterior is also beautiful.

In a word, you have made a great step forwards, especially as regards flat construction. The tractor and machines factory is also very important, for it gives products useful for us and also necessary for export. I would, however, advise you not to build factories too near the town. Now electricity is used more and more, it is true, and there is less pollution. However, it is better to have the factories a little way from the settlements. That is no problem today, for there are good communications and sufficient transport means, for wherever there are factories in a town it can never be so clean.

Whenever I pass through New Belgrade, and I do so often, I see something new. It is being built very quickly, a lot more quickly than 15 or 20 years ago. This is the result of the organization of our building enterprises, greater experience and much better mechanization. In a word, it is being built quite quickly, though I know that there are still people waiting at your doors for flats, and a much longer time will be required for these needs to be met.

There we are, that is what I wanted to say. I consider that you have done a lot, that you have done it well, and that New Belgrade is a beautiful town. We can be proud of this and everyone who comes here admires our postwar successes.

Tito Praises Workers' Achievements

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 14 May 77 LD

["President Tito's Toast in the Congress Center"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade--At lunch in the Congress Center President Tito made the following toast:

I would like to thank the comrades from the town leadership for the invitation to visit New Belgrade.

At the same time, I should like to express my sincere gratitude and that of my wife and comrades who were with me for the magnificent welcome which so pleasantly surprised me there. Today, after more than 30 years since the war, the same sort of enthusiasm was manifested there as during the first days after the liberation from Hitler's yoke. After all those years of difficult, persistent work by our workers, engineers and technicians, we have made achievements which have transformed Yugoslavia from a backward Balkan country into an industrial and technologically highly developed country. Whose feat is this? It is the feat of the hands and creative capacity of our workers, technicians and engineers.

I do not want to talk at length, but would like to say again that I am deeply impressed by what I have seen today.

This beautiful building, which will serve us as a place for both international gatherings and our own meetings, demonstrates the great ability of our builders. That means that in this country we can also build everything that is created in other highly developed countries.

On this occasion I would also like to emphasize that New Belgrade is a beautifully constructed town and that it has a beautiful position. I have seen many towns in the world, among which there were quite a lot of modern ones, but I must say that I have never seen such an impressive town as New Belgrade. There are really wonderful buildings here, and the urban planning is good. In short, Belgrade can be proud of New Belgrade.

I wish our technicians, engineers and all our working people great success in the future in their creative work.

I congratulate the builders of this building which will serve not only the good of Belgrade, but also of our entire community.

CSO: 2800

CHINA'S AFRICA POLICY IN LIGHT OF PODGORNYY VISIT DISCUSSED

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 28 Mar 77 p 28

[Article by Miran Sustar]

[Text] Last Monday in Dar-es-Salaam, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Nikolay Podgornyy, began his tour of East Africa and the south of the black continent. He was accompanied on this trip by the deputy foreign minister and the principal Soviet negotiator in "border problems" with China, Leonid Ilyichev, who a few weeks prior to this tour returned from Peking empty handed with the positions of the two countries remaining diametrically opposed. The Soviets maintained that their proposals submitted to Peking contained new elements, but the Chinese refuted this claim by stating that the Soviet positions remained unchanged.

The fact that Podgornyy took along on his tour the best Soviet expert on the "Chinese question," is significant in itself. This seemingly peripheral detail of protocol is the more important if we consider that, for Chinese diplomacy, Africa represents a region where the Soviet and American influences freely vie for control, a chessboard on which a duel between East and West is unfolding without previously established rules of the game, since Africa was not even mentioned at Yalta. It is precisely on the basis of such assessment of the situation that Chinese diplomacy, within the framework of the strategic doctrine on the contest between the "world metropolis and the world village," did in the recent 10 years devote a great deal of attention to countries south of the Sahara, particularly those in which the last phase of classical decolonialization has been taking place.

The developments in Africa, however, have evidently not yet confirmed, at least not for the time being, the Chinese evaluation and assessment of the situation on this continent. The Cuban intervention in Angola, the extremely successful courting of some African countries by Fidel Castro, and now the trip of Nikolay Podgornyy are only the most palpable outward indications revealing the gaps in the political thought of that diplomatic school in Peking which is proceeding from the premise that "what is good

for the USSR is bad for China and vice versa." A series of less noticeable indications marks the declining curve of the Chinese presence in Africa, and that at a time when it is to be expected that the "Rhodesian complex" and the current crisis in southern Africa are to be resolved in view of the indirect presence of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Both superpowers are trying to impart to the resolution of these conflicts as much of their own characteristics as possible, while China, the "natural ally of all oppressed people," is at present primarily a passive observer. This is because the Chinese analysts find that leaders of the present phase of the anticolonialist liberation struggle in southern Africa are for the time being counting primarily on Soviet armament and Cuban military assistance while President Carter's new administration and its State Department are very actively pursuing new diplomatic initiatives.

A Cooling Off Toward States "on the Firing Line"

The key element of the current events in southern Africa are undoubtedly the states ranged "on the firing line" against Rhodesia: Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Botswana. Whoever is present in this region will by virtue of the situation's own logic indirectly become involved in the resolution of the so-called Rhodesian problem, similarly as it happened in Angola. What are the Chinese positions in these countries?

Mozambique is one of the 23 African states which, except for Madagascar, received the greatest part of the Chinese aid. And yet China is virtually absent in Maputu. It is true that immediately after the declaration of independence the Chinese example of running things was more attractive for independent Mozambique than any other, and the medical service in the war of liberation and on the liberated territory was successfully organized along the lines of the Chinese "barefoot medics." However, at the third FRELIMO congress in February, the formerly mass organization that led the liberation struggle underwent a metamorphosis into an elite avantgarde party resembling more the Soviet than the Chinese party in its internal structure. Although President Samora Machel acknowledged the contribution of the late Mao Tsetung the weapons with which the Mozambique army is equipped is of predominantly Soviet origin. Of the former Chinese presence in Mozambique there remain only academic expressions of gratitude and not much more.

In the past [few] years China acquired prestige throughout Africa with an over 1,000 km railway, with which Chinese workers and technicians connected in a record time Zambia's copper mines with the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salaam, whereby Zambia became less dependent on the transit over Rhodesian territory. At the end of 1975 the railway was proudly opened for use, but the enthusiasm over this engineering feat did not withstand the test of time. The relations between Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam on one side and Peking on the other began to cool off, albeit imperceptibly.

In December 1975, that is, a few months after the dedication of the famed railroad, Li Hsien-nien, vice premier of the Chinese Government, at a festive banquet in the People's Palace in Peking, toasted Alexander Grey Zulu, one of the closest collaborators of Zambian President Kaunda. At that time he offered to his guest Chinese political support for those African countries that were considering or at least attempting a dialogue with Pretoria. One of these countries was Zambia.

However, within less than a year the matters underwent a considerable change. In the conflict between the African states and Rhodesia, Kaunda became close to the ZAPU liberation movement's Nkomo, who had spent a great deal of time in Moscow where he established close relations with the Soviet Union. Toward the end of 1976 the ZAPU military camps in Zambia for the training of guerrillas to fight Ian Smith's white minority regime in Rhodesia, which had been closed, were again put in active service. And finally, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, Nikolay Podgorny, will visit not only Maputu but Lusaka, too.

The Absurdity of Angola

The barometer of Chinese-Tanzanian relations, too, is still registering a cooling off spell which began when the Tanzanian Army accepted its first Soviet instructors. According to all appearances matters could not be improved even by Tanzanian Vice President Aboud Jumbe who paid an official visit to Peking last December. The friendship created by the 1,000 kilometer railway apparently remained at a stand-off. At approximately the same time China and Botswana, one of the five states "on the firing line," established diplomatic relations but because of the conflict with Rhodesia they made no further progress. Botswana decided overnight that it was being threatened by Rhodesia, whereupon the Soviets without beating around the bush offered military aid. Although President Seretse Khama has not yet responded to the offer, he did open his country's borders to the ZAPU fighters who, armed with Soviet weapons, can now seek refuge in Botswana when they have to retreat before the Rhodesian Army.

The weakest link of the Chinese-African policy, however, is certainly Angola. So long as the Soviet Union remained indifferent to Neto's MPLA liberation movement the Chinese supported both liberation movements. However, as soon as Moscow had shown interest in MPLA, Peking placed all its bets on Robert Holden, although it was already quite clear that the two movements would turn into two explosively dangerous competitors at the moment when independence was declared.

This was precisely what happened. The intervention of 12,000 Cuban troops in a few critical moments saved the MPLA from breakdown and led it on to victory which represented a defeat of the Chinese policy in Africa. When South African troops invaded south Angola as an ally of FNLA and UNITA, China, "the natural ally of all oppressed peoples" found itself in the absurd position of being in the same camp as the racists whom all the world condemned.

Even after the demise of FNLA and UNITA Peking failed to revise its attitude toward Angola. China has not yet extended diplomatic recognition to Angola, and its representative in the United Nations abstained from voting on its admission to UNO. The Chinese explain their conduct by advancing the proposition that "with the help of Cuban intervention Angola became a victim of the social imperialism and Soviet expansionism in Africa," while the Chinese press in articles on southern Africa exhorts the liberation movements to be equally resolute in combatting the racist regimes as well as the "hegemonist endeavors of the USSR in Africa." It is under this premise that China now also supports the regime of President Mobutu in Zaire, while HSINHUA on the very same days when clashes occurred in Zaire's Shaba Province (formerly Katanga) accused the Soviet Union and social imperialism of exploiting the current difficulties in Zaire for "aggression against Zaire," emphasizing that the "aggressors came from Angola."

It is evident that Peking cannot expect for this position to be met with understanding in the states of southern Africa which are in a direct or indirect confrontation with the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia. The cooled off relations with the states "on the firing line" have already demonstrated this fact, for which the Podgorny visit now provides yet another most palpable confirmation. What are then the premises on which Peking is basing its African policy which has in its present phase met with such obvious failure?

Chinese Evaluations

It is obvious that the Chinese diplomacy considers Africa to be a region where, according to its evaluations, the confrontation between the USSR and the United States will take place. Accordingly, the Chinese refrained from doing anything that would weaken the American positions while they did everything to exacerbate the conflict between the Soviet and American influence in Africa. Precisely for this reason Peking is not overly concerned over what they are calling "penetration of Soviet influence south of the Sahara." They are convinced that this region is too remote from the Soviet Union for her to become firmly and permanently entrenched there. The examples of Egypt and Sudan as well as Syria are indirectly confirming the validity of their surmise. Likewise, they are convinced that "Cuba will exhaust itself in Africa and become a serious liability for the Soviet Union."

Peking's strategic evaluation considers the Soviet penetration in Africa to be an attempt at "undercutting the ties between Africa and Europe." This complements the Chinese theory that "all Soviet expansionist ambitions are directed toward Europe." Soviet advances in Africa can, according to Chinese views, only prod the United States to a "more hard line policy in its relations with the Soviet Union." In this connection they are not hiding their disappointment over Kissinger who "at the right moment (Cuban intervention in Angola) turned out to be quite willing to make inappropriate concessions."

And there is something else included in the Chinese long-range forecasts, namely, the fact that Chinese unseen and inobtrusive presence in the countries of the African continent is more attractive than either the Soviet or American presence. So much the more because, in Peking's estimation, the Chinese model of development is more suitable for the present stage of Africa's social and economic development than the models offered by the USSR and the United States.

For these reasons the Chinese consider Podgorny's African tour to be only an annoying incident of transient importance, rather than a long-range failure of political strategy in Africa.

12070

CSO: 2800

DROPPING OF TERM 'TERRITORIAL DEFENSE' SUGGESTED

[Editorial Report] Col Prof Dr Milan Vicinic in Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian on 10 March 1977, page 8, inaugurates a discussion in this military weekly newspaper on the subject of the term "territorial defense." Col Vucinic objects strongly to the term, despite its near decade of usage, and advocates replacement with the term "partisan forces of Yugoslavia." According to Col Vucinic, who says that he has been bothered by the term ever since it was introduced, "territorial defense" is applicable solely to the way in which such forces are organized, not to their mode of combat action. In the sense that Yugoslav defense doctrine opts for three possible modes of combat action, viz., frontal, partisan, and combined frontal/partisan, the term "partisan forces" would be more appropriate to Colonel Vucinic from a functional standpoint. In his view, furthermore, the term "partisan forces" is equally desirable from a "moral/psychological/political standpoint" in the sense of being remindful of the origins of the present Yugoslav military machine. "'Partisan forces of Yugoslavia' is a name that will be gladly accepted and proudly sensed to be a beloved name both because of the significance of this segment of our defense and as an expression of respect for the memory of the partisans of our liberation war."

So far, all responses printed in NARODNA ARMIJA have essentially supported the suggestion made by Colonel Vicinic. Two such responses appear in the issue of 31 March 1977, page 6. Branko Nesic cites four reasons for his attitude: firstly, numerous countries in Europe and elsewhere use the term "territorial defense forces" to apply to entities vastly different from the Yugoslav units so denominated; secondly, "territorial" units would be compelled in a war of nationwide defense to maneuver outside their respective "territories," just as had the partisan units of World War II; thirdly, these "territorial" units include naval defense forces and aircraft; and fourthly, the term "partisan forces" would eliminate the word "defense" in the title, a bugbear to Nesic, who regards a defensive stance as something to avoid. In sum, "territorial defense" denotes to Nesic undesirable immobility and passivity. Pero Delin, in the same issue, offers a mainly sentimental rationale and concludes with the assumption that the vast majority of participants in a survey on the subject would share his view.

Lt Col Gen Milojica Pantelic lends his support in the issue of 21 April 1977, page 8. Aside from the usual reasons of strategy and tradition, General Pantelic points that the armed forces of certain countries using the term "territorial defense" are or may be "tools of imperialistic or hegemonistic policy" and that territorial defense comprises not only armed units but also various activities such as reconnaissance, supply, etc. General Pantelic would like to see the word "partisan" in the designation but does not come down in favor of any particular terminology.

CSO: 2800

LEGAL POSITION OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA OUTLINED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 11, 12, 13 Apr 77

[Three-part article by Ivan Cvitkovic: "Relations Between State and Religious Communities Under Socialism"]

[11 Apr 77, p 2]

[Text] The Principle of Separation

No one needs to account to the state for his "religiosity," nor can his religious allegiance have any sort of legal or political consequences, unless it is a case of the use of religion for various political or anti-socialist purposes.

Under socialism, the state necessarily regulates its relations with religious communities. It is a reality that religious communities exist in the new society and that the state exists, so that they must have some system of relationships.

Fundamentally, there are three modalities for relations between religious communities and the state:

Freedom of Religion and Atheism

One model is the recognized or state-religion system. Its basic feature is that one religion is the recognized one. It is dominant, and those who profess it have all rights, while other religions are either forbidden or their adherents do not have rights such as those who profess the state religion.

The second model is the system of so-called recognized religions, wherein the state recognizes a certain number of religions that have equal rights, while adherents of other, unrecognized religions, do not have the right to practice their religion. That is the system of relationships that was practiced here before World War II. At that time in Bosnia and Hercegovina, recognition was given to the Islamic, Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Jewish

religious communities. Therefore, anyone who wished to be a believer could be a member only of those recognized religious communities. No other religious sects could be established, nor could anyone follow their rites.

The question arises as to how, after World War II, neither the first nor the second model could have been accepted for relations between religious communities and the state. It is apparent that the basic feature of one and the other model is the guarantee of freedom of religion only to adherents of one, or a limited number, of religions. The socialist state, however, must build and is building a system of relations and of freedom that will guarantee the right to belong to any religious body whatsoever, without limitation, as well as to guarantee the right of atheism. It is only in the socialist social community, by establishing relations between religious bodies and the state on the principles of the socialist state, that the right not to believe, is also guaranteed. Man has the freedom to believe and not to believe, to establish a religious community and to leave it.

No State Church

Therefore, it was necessary to apply some new model of relations between religious communities and the state, a system of separation between them. Naturally, this is not the invention of the workers and communist movement, nor is it the invention of socialism. It is a principle that bourgeois theory and practice has also accepted, but which it has never had the strength to carry through to the end, because in its politics, it needed an ally which it found in the religious communities.

Consequently, it is in the socialist state that, for the first time, the principle of separation of church and state is truly applied.

Right up until the eve of World War II, theologians in Yugoslavia were proponents of the so-called religious state, and they resisted the principle of separation of the religious community from the state ("Did not Christianity first divide the church from the state."--Marx). The theologians felt that separation would support religious indifference. If religion is not obligatory, if it has no public function, then public indifference toward it will spread. This was one of the primary reasons for the resistance of religious sects to the principle of separation between religious communities and the state.

The socialist state, however, could not be built upon the principle of religion. It had to relinquish the status of a religious state which, instead of a free society of people, had as its basis a society of believers of one or several religious communities. Socialism rejected that type of state.

By carrying out the principle of separation, the socialist state liberated the state churches, and canceled all privileges of religion and religious

communities. To use Marxist concepts, from a unified community they became essentially differentiated, because they were ejected from the public sphere into the private sphere. That was, in essence, the political emancipation of the state from religion, because the state could then be established and could function on secular principles, principles that were not of a religious nature.

The Reproaches of Individual Theologians

Individual theologians even today reproach us that we are building a state that is not religious, but rather atheist. The socialist state, however, the state in socialism, and therefore our state, is neither atheist nor theist. It has neither theism nor atheism as its basis.

Theologians have based their resistance to the principle of separation of religious communities and the state on the thesis that the socialist state is godless, antireligious, antichurch, that the socialist state has as one of its goals to eliminate religion--the religious community and institution--to liquidate the priest and to destroy god in man. From the identification of the socialist state with atheism came the theological principle of resistance to the separation of the religious communities from the state.

On the other hand, that principle was formed by the negative attitude of the religious communities toward socialism which was developed before the war and during World War II, up until the second half of the 1950's. Acceptance of the principle of separation of church and state would, after all, mean, in a certain way, the acceptance of the socialist state and socialism in Yugoslavia, and that was counter to the current position of the religious communities at that time regarding socialism. It must also be borne in mind that the last instance of an excommunication dates from 1956, when a written document was issued for collaboration with the communists and participating in the construction of the socialist society. Consequently, up until that time no more positive relationship could have been expected from the religious communities concerning the principle of separation of church and state.

The Constitution of 1946 for the first time regulated the legal relationship between our state and the religious communities on the principle of mutual separation, even though as early as 1942 the Foca regulations indicated the possibilities for such a relationship between church and state. That position was in a certain manner confirmed by the sessions of the Antifascist Council for National Liberation of Yugoslavia, and the Council for the National Liberation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, by the formation of an agency to work on regulating relations between the agencies of the government and the religious communities on the principle of separation. The Constitution of 1946 practically put into legal form a practice which had emerged during the course of the War of Liberation and the armed part of the revolution.

Against Religious Differentiation

Certain essential principles emerge from the system of separation of church and religious communities in socialism:

The first principle is that no one need provide the state with a report or account of his religiosity. The agencies of the state never ask anyone what religion he belongs to, or if he belongs to none at all. Because of religion, religious adherence, or atheism, there are no legal or political consequences for anyone. Someone's professing of religion will have no legal or political consequences in our socialist state. Naturally, when we speak of professing religion, we have in mind sincere religious convictions. We do not include here any sort of speculation, or use of religion for any political or antisocialist purposes, etc.

The experience of the war of national liberation and the socialist revolution, and of the construction of our socialist self-management society, have confirmed that the struggle for socialism and socialist self-management is possible only on the platform of socialist unity and the involvement of everyone in the sociopolitical life of the country. We must all be involved in the socialist, self-management development of society, in direct, democratic, and responsible decision making in all public matters. Religious affiliation as such has not been an obstacle for public involvement of citizens in all phases of the war of national liberation, the socialist revolution, or the construction of the socialist self-management society. In that battle, the right of religious confession is not threatened nor limited. Socialist construction does not recognize any division of citizens on the basis of religious beliefs. Any differentiation of citizens, except on the foundation of their attitudes and relation to socialism and self-management, is unacceptable and harmful to fraternity, unity, and socialist cooperation.

[12 Apr 77, p 2]

[Text] The Position of the Religious Communities

The principle of separation of religious communities from the state and limitation of their activities to religious matters implies the separation of religious communities from politics.

The second principle is the regulation of the legal position of religious communities as private communities. By the very fact that religious communities are separate from the state, they acquire a private character and are eliminated from the sphere of public life. They gained this status as well in the Constitution of 1946, the fundamental law on the legal position of religious organizations of 1953, supplements to that law, and the Constitution and Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities.

Only Religious Activities Permitted

Since religious communities have a private legal nature, the state does not interfere in their internal activities. Religious communities are independent as regards rituals, cultural activities, matters of internal organization, their interpersonal relationships, the structure of their religious leadership, and the like. The state does not interfere in those matters. All religious communities are equal before the law. No particular one may have a privileged political or legal position in the system of our social and political community.

The third principle stemming from the separation of church and state is that religious communities must limit their activities to those of a religious nature. By the Constitution, this regulation means the performance of religious activities and rituals.

The principle of separation of church and state and the limitation of the activities of religious communities to religious activities implies the separation of religious communities from politics. The separation of church and state also implies that politics and political activities are separated from religious activities.

Every attempt to limit the activities of religious communities within constitutional and legal frameworks is interpreted by individuals in religious groups as an "attack on religious communities," as a threat to religious freedom, etc.

The fourth principle stemming from the principle of separation of church and state is that citizens may freely initiate religious communities, change their religion, and refuse to belong to any religious group.

The Freedom of Religious Determination

Before the war, anyone who wished to believe could be a member of those religious communities that were recognized by the law. Four religions were offered, and if anyone wanted to be a believer, he could belong to one of them. There was no freedom to form new religious sects. Only under socialism was that right granted, leading to the situation where there are more religious communities today than there were on Yugoslav territory before the war. That is not a function of greater religiosity in present Yugoslav society compared to the prewar society, but rather a result of what Comrade Tito pointed out as early as 1946 in speaking with representatives of American churches: In a free society, if true freedom exists, there must be numerous religions.

On the other hand, that is also the result of antagonism within the religious communities themselves. The adherents of "new" religious communities (so-called "sects") came from the members of the three most numerous traditional religious communities. That fact testifies to the decline

and weakening of the institutional strength of the great religious communities (Orthodoxy, Islam, and Roman Catholicism).

The fifth principle related to separation of church and state is that both the religious communities and the state avoid interference in each other's affairs and conflicting situations that might lead to clashes. It is no more in the interest of the socialist state to interfere in the internal affairs of religious communities, to provoke relations of conflict with them, than it should be in the interests of the religious communities to interfere in the affairs of the state, in the sphere of political activities, if they really wish to respect their constitutional and legal position. Such interference would provoke clashes with the socialist state.

The Separation of Institutions of Education

The principle of the separation of church and state also implies the separation of institutions for education and learning from religious communities. Educational activities in the socialist state are based on secular principles, on principles that cannot be based on religious authorities. This demand was first presented in the history of the workers movement by the Paris Commune of 1871, when in the Decree of May 1871 it decided to remove from schools all symbols having religious meaning, and to place the schools on purely secular principles. This principle was realized for the second time in the history of the workers movement in 1918, under the leadership of Lenin, after the October Revolution.

The principle of forcing religion out of education institutions has been the most sharply criticized by theologians. Even today, in the criticism of Marxism in Yugoslavia by theologians, one of the dominant questions is the critique of the separation of religious communities from educational institutions. In criticizing Marxism and socialism in Yugoslavia, theologians do not any longer criticize the principle of the separation of church and state. They accept it. Rather, they turn their criticism on the separation of educational institutions from religious communities. They would like to force Marxism out of Yugoslav educational institutions.

It is of interest to emphasize that individual theologians tend to stress the need to separate the state and the schools by offering the thesis of the neutral school. This notion received particular emphasis after the 21st session of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, when more study of Marxism was being introduced into Yugoslav schools, and the organizations that bring young people together were introducing various forms of Marxist instruction. Then, in their criticism of Marxism and the relations between religious communities and the state, Yugoslav theologians stressed the demand for an ideologically neutral school system. In the system of separation of church and state, it is unacceptable that the schools be ideologically neutral, or for there to be any sort of religious input into the educational system.

Equality of Religious Communities

Although officially the religious communities do not reject the principle of separation of church and state, each of them has its own particular approaches in understanding and applying the principle. Consistency is required in realizing this principle as it was established by the Constitution and the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities. Every religious community in the state is equal; every one has the same legal position; and every one must by the same principles be separated from the state regardless of which religious community is in question.

With the exception of the constitution, the last legal document on relations between religious communities and the state appeared in 1953. That was the Basic Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities. Fundamentally, it contained the principles that had been included in the Constitution. That type of law did not correspond with the present situation of the relations between the state and the religious communities and it was necessary to change it.

Through the changes in the system of political relationships in Yugoslavia and a different treatment of the republic within the framework of the sociopolitical community, the republics were given the responsibility themselves to regulate the legal position of religious communities. That brought up a question of principle: Should the republic pass a law on the legal position of religious communities or not?

Individual observers regarded that as an extreme step, because the question of the legal position of religious communities was regulated by other laws (such as the matter of taxation, baptism, and marriage under the Law on Marriages, the question of funerals under the Law on Cemeteries, the matter of printing and publishing activities under the Law on Publication Activities, etc.). Therefore, there seemed to be no reason for the passage of a special Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities. Nonetheless, as long as it is possible for a religious group to exploit and function contrary to the socialist state, and while the socialist state contains, if only in isolated situations, sect attitudes and sect relationships toward the religious communities, there will continue to be the need for such a law both for the state and for the religious communities. On the one hand the law is necessary for the religious communities so that they will know what rights they enjoy in the Yugoslav social and political community. On the other hand, the law is needed by the state in order to express in a single source all the principles of the legal position of religious communities within the society. Thus it was determined that a Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities should be passed for Bosnia and Hercegovina.

[13 Apr 77, p 2]

[Text] Religion as a Private Matter

The principle of separation of church and state and limitation of the activities of religious communities implies the separation of religious communities from political activities as well.

Fundamentally, the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities expresses the continuity of the legal status of religious groups and of the policies for relations toward religious communities on the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina, beginning with the Joint Antifascist Council For the National Liberation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and lasting even today.

The constitutional and legal rights of the religious communities must be known, and it would be improper to come to a situation where they would be criticized for activities which they have a right to engage in according to the Constitution and the law. Unfortunately, there have been such occurrences from time to time, thus providing "the bear's service" of hindrance to political activity, because the religious communities were being criticized for performing functions to which they had rights while they were not being criticized for those activities to which they had no rights.

The Free Establishment of Religious Groups

An essential provision of the Law is that confession of faith is free and the private affair of everyone. In the public discussion on the draft of the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities, the theologians objected to the concept of a "private matter." Specifically, they suggested that it be replaced by some other concept, such as that of a "personal matter." Personal and private after all are not the same, they are not identical. The notion of a "private matter" is a broader concept than that of a "personal matter." Religion as a private matter is a principle that has been built into the Law, and which implies that the socialist state looks upon religion as the private affair of its citizens. It is a private matter, therefore, from the point of view of the relationship of the socialist state toward it.

Another essential provision of the Law is that citizens can freely establish religious communities. Their only obligation is to register such religious groups. No limitation was suggested, as has happened in the laws of some socialist states, by which the state would institute regulations of minimum numbers as members of a religious group before it would be permitted to establish a religious community. If the religious community is separated from the socialist state, then the state has no concern about the number included in a religious community, be it 100, 1,000 or a million, or only 10 adherents.

Registration is only a matter of record, for by the system of disrupting "large religious communities" by creating a whole series of "smaller

religious communities" it has happened that it was impossible to register them, to know where they operate and where they have their headquarters. In order to develop relations with them as well as with all other religious communities, it is essential to know these data. Registration in no case means that the responsible agency approves the operating of the religious community, or disapproves it, but every religious community, or its agency that is operating in a particular sociopolitical unit of the state, is obliged to register with the appropriate agency of the community assembly indicating that it is operating in that particular community, that it is engaging in cult activities at such and such an address, in a particular building on a particular street.

Neither a Positive Nor a Negative Policy

The next principle in the law is that all religious communities have the same legal status, and all are equal according to their rights and responsibilities. Naturally this law, as well as the Law of 1953, contains a so-called canceling clause, that is, the regulation forbidding misuse of religion for political purposes. Certain theologians have complained that that is a step backward in the relations of the socialist state with religious communities, that in that instance we are "slightly hypocritical," and the like. In their opinion, on the one hand we forbid misuse of religion for political purposes, while we do not forbid its "use" for political purposes. In the theological interpretation of this principle, the religious community could be utilized if it pleased the state for the construction of socialism, or for carrying out actions of the Socialist Alliance, yet the state does not permit misuse of the religious groups. Misuse of religion and religious communities is, however, present even when it is used for such a political purpose, whenever a religious body is used for any political reason whatever. If a religious body is involved in so-called "positive political action," it is being misused, for in a system that separates church and state, the religious communities cannot be involved in either "positive" or "negative" political activities.

The innovation of the new law, compared to the 1953 Law, is the regulation forbidding the involvement of religious communities in matters of general, and especially public interest. Political practice has indicated the need for such an article which makes it impossible for any religious body to engage in activities that are not of a religious nature. Naturally, that is only the legal aspect. This matter should certainly be resolved by some other means, but if other means do not help, then the socialist state must at times make use of such an administrative device, based on the law. It is not a question of the regulation "restricting the freedoms of religious communities," for those freedoms are specified by the Constitution, which states that religious communities are to perform religious matters and religious rites. Therefore, this regulation is in no way a restriction of their rights in the domain of religious activities and religious rites, but only a clarification and a protection of the constitutional regulation. According to the Law, no one can force a citizen to join a

religious group. It is apparent that there are various pressures on citizens, either in written or oral form, to join religious bodies. Therefore it has been necessary to protect the citizens by law from the pressures described.

Furthermore, no one can, as a result of his religious convictions and his religious feelings, be deprived of other rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution and the law, nor may anyone have special privileges because of their religious affiliation. The law is clear, that if religion is the private affair of everyone, then no one can acquire special privileges on the basis of that matter of privacy. Citizens must perform their work and other obligations, regardless of their religious affiliation. That is the sense of the regulation that states that no one can acquire special privilege or advantage, or special protection, because of the fact that he is a religious believer, and such a provision is necessary for this reason of performing public duties.

Misunderstandings Concerning Burial Services

Occasional political clashes and confrontations with individuals from religious groups have often occurred in connection with the rite of burial. Specifically, religious officials have customarily given speeches at burial services. The most recent instructions from religious leaders here expressly request that religious representatives present speeches at funeral services, and not only about the deceased. Rather, they are to talk about religious scriptures and about evangelical principles. It has even been stressed militantly that the religious official must address the atheists, for they too have come to the funeral "in order to hear a compassionate word." Hence according to the theologians, the speeches should be presented as a practice at the time of the funeral. The Law on Cemeteries and the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities indicates that a religious official may, if requested by the relatives of a decedent, perform only a religious ritual in the cemetery at the time of burial, and this must be the customary ceremony for burial services.

The law also contains a regulation found in the Constitution concerning material support to religious communities from the sociopolitical community. In discussion on the relations between religious communities and the state, the question is often asked about the Marxist stress on religious communities being supported on the principle of voluntary contributions of their members. If that is the case, why then do the Constitution and the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities offer the possibility of material support from the sociopolitical community to religious groups? In principle, the state does not finance religious communities, nor their activities. This regulation has more the purpose of providing a possibility for intervention of the sociopolitical community in those matters where there is a broader social importance connected with some aspect of the activities within a religious community. For example, if a religious community undertakes the reconstruction of a

religious building which is protected by the state as a cultural monument, that is rich in frescoes or museum pieces, then the social community can provide material help, and within the limits of its capabilities, assist the religious communities. That, however, does not mean that the socio-political community gives funds for the other activities of religious bodies.

The principles presented above are the fundamental ones which now regulate the legal position of religious communities in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

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YUGOSLAVIA

HEAD OF YUGOSLAV ISLAMIC COMMUNITY TALKS ABOUT CONDITIONS IN SFRY

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0701 GMT 7 May 77 LD

[Text] Sarajevo--On the occasion of the annual sessions of the Islamic community's synod, the association's organ ILMIJE [Renaissance] carries in its latest issue an interview with Reis-ul-Ulema Hadzi Haim Efendi Hadziabdic, supreme head of the Islamic community in the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

Talking about the development of the Islamic community in the postwar years in our country, the Reis-ul-Ulema said that the fundamental social changes and the construction of new socialist relations have by necessity demanded the new positioning and adaptating of religious life's development to the newly arisen reality.

It can be stated quite firmly that the material base, which constitutes the important precondition and most essential component in the development of religious life, is perfectly solid. I would not be in error, said the head of the Islamic community, if I say that the material position of our religious employees has never been better. All imams are covered by health, pension and disability insurance. A large number of very beautiful mosques have been built. There are more than 500 of them.

The position of the Islamic community in the new reality and the basic hypotheses of its development should be pointed out more definitely. The more so as misinformation relating to the position of members of the Islamic community is to be heard here and there. The Reis-ul-Ulema said that on his recent visit to Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates he came across several such pieces of misinformation which were nothing more than plain fabrication. One of them, made public in a lecture in Qatar, insinuated that in a certain place in Bosnia 5,000 moslems were killed when action was taken to remove veils and masks! Another reports that a mufti fled from communist oppression and made his way with great difficulty to Cairo!

The good relations that the Islamic community immediately established with the social community have created an atmosphere of mutual confidence, a factor

which has certainly made possible the unhindered development of religious life. At the same time, the Islamic community has enjoyed the religious freedoms which are fully guaranteed for citizens by the constitution and other legal regulations, in particular the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities. I must say that there have never been any particular difficulties on the path to realizing religious freedoms and rights.

It is perfectly true, and I must emphasize this, that the members of the Islamic community in our new reality have experienced the possibility of complete equality and social affirmation, which was not the case before.

Talking then about religious and civil freedoms in our country, the head of the Islamic community said that the members of the Islamic community of Albanian nationality in Kosovo, who now number more than a million, have achieved great possibilities for all-round development.

At Pristina University there are more than 30,000 students today. It is very characteristic that this number is three times greater than the entire prewar population of Pristina. The members of the Islamic community in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro enjoy the same possibilities for all-round development. It is within the context of these possibilities that the development of religious life should be viewed and appraised. The great changes in all human activities could not help but affect the changes in the sphere of religious life. Viewing the total development of our Islamic community in the postwar period, and especially in recent years, we can, in my opinion, be satisfied, said the supreme head of the Islamic community in the SFRY, Reis-ul-Ulema Hadzi Naim Efendi Hadziabdic.

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END